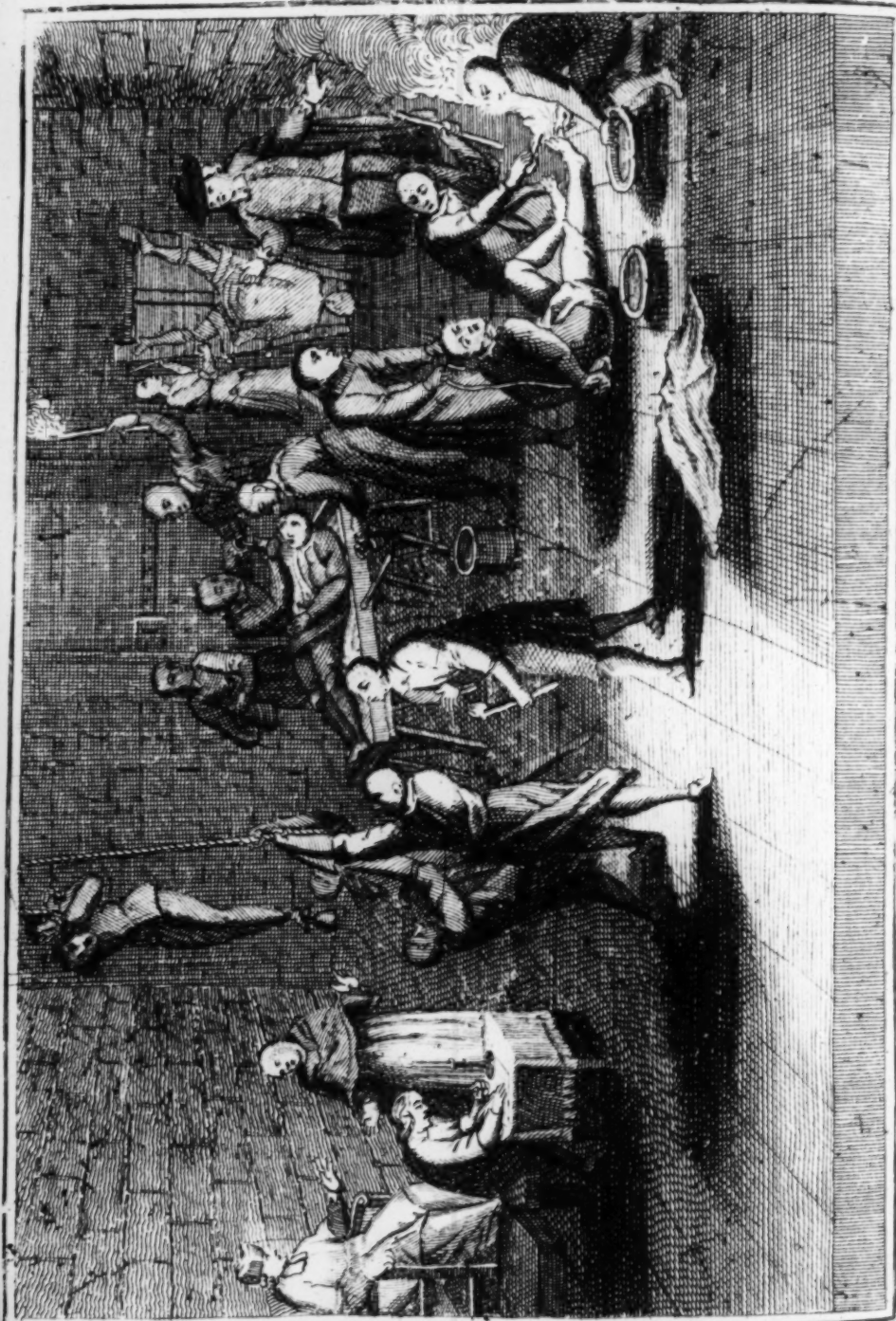


Methods of Torturing before the Inquisitor.



Methods of Torturing before the Inquisitor.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
INQUISITION,
AS IT EXISTED IN THE KINGDOMS OF
SPAIN, PORTUGAL, &c.
AND IN BOTH THE INDIES.

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. Its Rise, Progress and Establishment. | III. The almost boundless Jurisdiction of this Court; its Officers, Laws, Customs, &c. &c. |
| II. The extraordinary Methods taken to support it. | |

ALSO,

The Nature of its Proceedings against Hereticks.

AND

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TORTURES

INFLECTED ON THE PERSONS PERSECUTED IN THAT COURT.

Embellished with an Engraving.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY J. AND J. CARRICK,
BEDFORD-ROW.

1798.



T
few
not
gro
uni
ma
the
be
not
of t
pos

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
INQUISITION.

*Of the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain ;
first against the Moors and Jews, then against
Hereticks ; its Power, Method of Proceeding,
Privileges, &c. &c.*

THE inquisition was brought pretty early into several kingdoms of Spain, but as yet it either had not been fixed in Castile and Leon, or was there grown into disuse. *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, having united the several kingdoms of Spain by their inter-marriage, after having obtained signal victories over the moors, ordered tribunals of the inquisition to be erected throughout all their kingdoms. It is not easy to be determined whether they did this out of their blind zeal for religion, or that they might possess their kingdoms in greater peace and security,

A after

after having expelled the mahometan and jewish superstitions out of them ; or, as some believe, because they affected the universal monarchy of Europe ; and therefore, by some notable undertaking, to shew their great zeal for the roman religion, endeavoured to secure the good will and favour of the pope. However, as the inquisition had flourished for many years in Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and Arragon, they introduced the inquisition into all their kingdoms by authority of pope *Sixtus*, with greater pomp, magnificence and power, that they might not be exceeded by any nation, but might rather exceed all others, in their endeavours to maintain the roman faith against all opposition.

The pretence was this :

That by the licentiousness of former times, great corruptions had arisen in the kingdom, moors, jews, and christians promiscuously conversing, and having all sort of commerce with each other ; that by such commerce and familiarity, some christians might be easily infected, and others forsake the christian worship which they had received, after having renounced their native superstition, being weak in the faith, and having none to forbid them. The infection was said to have spread most at Seville, where many, after being privately put to the question, suffered the most grievous punishments. The occasion was this : *Alphonfus Hoxeda*, prior of the convent of St. Paul at Seville, a predicant, had for many years in his sermons to the people, bitterly inveighed against those, who, leaving the profession of christianity, apostatized to judaism. This man was informed by a certain citizen of the family of the *Gufmans*, that on a Thursday, during the festival of the sacrament, the first vigil of the night, several jews and apostates had got together in some houses, and there performed the jewish ceremonies, and uttered execrable blasphemies and reproaches against our

Saviour.

Saviour. All these things *Gusman* saw with his eyes, in a private part of a house where he concealed himself with a girl. The prior persuaded *Gusman* to write all these things down, and sign them with his name, and then immediately went and discovered all to the king and queen at Cordova.— They ordered that the affair should be enquired into. Upon this, the prior put six of this number into irons, in the convent of St. Paul, afterwards several more of them, and at last severely punished all of them, according to the nature of their offence. They who were the most guilty were burnt, after long imprisonment and torture ; such as were less guilty, had their families rendered infamous ; great numbers had their estates confiscated and were condemned to perpetual darkness and chains. A large red cross, with cross rays, upon a yellow garment, which they call *san benito*, different from the rest, was put on most of them, as an example to others, and to be a terror to them. All these things seemed at first grievous to the provincials, but especially that the children should suffer for the parents crimes ; that people should be rendered guilty by a private accuser, and condemn'd without being confronted with the informer, contrary to the ancient custom, when offences against religion were punished with death. But what they looked on as the worst, was, that the inquisitors took away all liberty of free conversation, having their spies in cities, towns and villages, which they thought to be the lowest slavery. Amongst many different judgments, some were against death, though all thought very severe punishments should be inflicted. Others thought they ought not to have the benefit of life and the common air ; that they ought to be punished with forfeiture of goods, and with infamy, without any regard to their children ; that this was wisely provided for by the laws, that parents should be rendered

dered more cautious by their affection for their children; that dropping of actions would be prevented by allowing private witnesses; and that by this means, none would be punished but such as were plainly convicted, or confessed; that the ancient customs of the church were often changed, as affairs and times required; and that greater licentiousness ought to be restrained with greater severity. Judges were chosen out of every province, to whose pleasure the fortunes, reputations and lives of all persons were committed.

These transactions at Seville were soon known all over Spain; upon which divers intimations were given to their catholic majesties, that most of the jews lately converted to the faith, whose parents had been persuaded to believe by the sermons of *St. Vincentius Ferrerius*, used secretly in their houses the jewish rites, and taught christians the old law; that therefore they earnestly besought their majesties, out of their catholic piety, to put a stop to these growing evils, lest the poisonous contagion should every day spread farther; for otherwise, unless a remedy was immediately applied, great inconveniences would accrue to the church of God. Amongst these, the chief were *Peter Gonzalez a Mendoza*, archbishop of Seville, friar *Thomas a Turrecremata*, a predicant, the prior of the convent of the Holy Cross at Segovia, and their majesties confessor. By his instigation principally, *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* placed *Gonzalez Mendoza*, archbishop of Seville, over all causes of the faith, joining in commission with him friar *Thomas a Turrecremata*, to recover the office of the inquisition, which, in process of time, had very much declined in that kingdom, to its former vigour and severity.

By authority of the Bull of *Sixtus IV.* they appointed only two inquisitors at Seville; friar *Michael a Morillo* and friar *John a S. Martino*; the first doctor

doctor, the other bachelor of divinity, both preachers. Anno 1482, the pope confirmed these two, who were chosen inquisitors by their majesties upon this condition, that they should proceed in causes of faith, in conjunction with the ordinaries of places, according to the order of the law, but because the pope apprehended that the inquisitors, which were settled either by the general or the provincials of the Dominican order in the provinces, were sufficient to manage the affairs of the faith, he deprived their majesties of the power of making inquisitors in other places. Anno 1483, the same *Sixtus IV.* at the request of their said majesties, appointed by his Bull, bearing date the 3d of the ides of February, seven Dominicans censors of the faith, who might have cognizance of matters relating to the faith, in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, because the two inquisitors at Seville were not sufficient. These, by the pope's command, made a severe inquisition against all who were secretly guilty of judaism.

Within the time fixed for persons voluntarily to confess their sins, with the hopes of pardon, about seventeen thousand of both sexes appeared who had their lives granted them. Many, however, refused to obey either the papal letters or royal edicts, but persisted, as popish writers say, in their heresy; for which they were seized, upon the testimony of credible witnesses, and, through the violence of their torments, confessing their crimes, were thrown into the fire; of which some are reported to have bewailed their sins, and acknowledged *Christ*; whilst others persisting in their errors, calling on the name of *Moses*. Within a few years, two thousand of them, of both sexes, were burnt; others, professing repentance, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; others wore crosses; the bones of others who were dead, were taken out of their graves and burnt to ashes, their effects confiscated, and their children

deprived of their honors and offices. Most of the jews being terrified with this cruelty, left their country and houses, and, in this great distress of their affairs, fled from the kingdoms of their catholic majesties. Many went into Portugal, many into Navarre, others into Italy, others into France and other countries, where they thought they could be safe; all whose goods and effects, moveable and immoveable, if they had any, their catholic majesties distributed towards the war, which was then made against the moors, and other barbarians. These things amounted to a prodigious sum. In Andalusia and Granada alone, those who fled with their wives and children left five thousand naked and empty houses. Others, according to *Paramus*, affirm, that their number was much greater; this is certain, that in the city and diocese of Seville only, there were above an hundred thousand persons alive or dead, present or absent, who were condemned for contumacy, or reconciled to the church.

And thus the different opinions, concerning the year of appointing the inquisition in Spain, may be easily reconciled. They all agree, that the inquisition was first introduced Anno 1478; but that the first inquisitor-general, and the supreme council of the inquisition, was not fixed till the year 1483.

Of the Prisons of the Inquisitors, and Keepers of those Prisons.

PRISONS were formerly appointed to keep men in custody, and not to punish them; but, by the canon law, they may be used for punishment. Heretofore the bishop and inquisitor might have their
separate

separat eprisons to hold persons in custody, but not to punish them; for as they cannot condemn any one to imprisonment without the consent of both, it is therefore required that the prison for punishment shall be common to both: but now they have not usually separate prisons; the same that belongs to the inquisitor, in which criminals are kept in custody, being common to the bishop.

Here are two things to be explained.-- First, what must be done before any person can be thrown into prison. Secondly, what method must be observed in keeping and placing the prisoners.

As to the first, hear what their own authors say. In all causes, as well civil as criminal, criminals must not be apprehended without a summary inquisition against them concerning their crime first had. This is particularly to be observed in the crime of heresy; for though in other crimes no one suffers much in his reputation merely for his being thrown into prison, yet to be taken up for the crime of heresy, is greatly infamous, which must therefore be proceeded in with great caution; for since the reason of proceeding in the crime of heresy is much more important than in other offences, there is need of a greater inquisition, and of a summary cognizance before criminals are apprehended. So that no one is likely to be shut up in close prison for small offences, for propositions that sound ill, or that are scandalous or blasphemous, or others which do not contain real heresy, but is to be confined either in some monastery, or in his own house or city.

The inquisitors may, indeed, proceed in the crime of heresy against any person, especially if he be otherwise vile, upon a light and moderate suspicion, so far as to ask such suspected person, what he thinks of the faith. But, in order to apprehend any one for heresy, two credible witnesses are required, although they say that the testimony of a single one,
if

if beyond all exception, is sufficient, who deposes what he saw or heard; yea, if he be not beyond all exception, yet is otherwise fit, provided he agrees with the informer; for, in this case, they say, there are two witnesses, and consequently more than half proof, which is sufficient for any one's being apprehended. But that one witness, above all exception, is enough in this case, they prove from the Madrid instruction, Anno 1561, Chap. 4. which says, "If the testimony be not sufficient for the apprehending, &c. This instruction is in the singular number, and therefore intimates, that one lawful witness against any one, is sufficient for his being taken up; especially if the person be scandalous and vile, and suspected; as are all the new converts of the mahometan sect in the kingdom of Valencia; and, as *Royas* says, the French and Germans of the Lutheran. But if the person accused be noble, and of good reputation and fame, he is not to be apprehended upon a single testimony. However, this is left to the pleasure of the judge, after having considered the quality of the person, and his offence; not that the inquisitors of the faith should appear eager to take up criminals; for they are always to use great circumspection. This is especially necessary in the receiving and examining witnesses. They must, in the first place, admonish them, how horrible and dreadful a wickedness it is to give false witness in any causes, and especially in the holy office of the inquisition; and that they should have God, and his awful and tremendous judgment before their eyes, that they may not, for prayer, or price, or entreaty, or any other wicked affection, defame an innocent person with so great a crime. Then the witnesses are to be interrogated concerning the place and time; what they saw or heard; whether the person acted or pronounced heretical words, once or oftner; with what obstinacy or eagerness he affirmed.

ed them; and what other persons were present; and for what causes, reasons, and occasions, they were present; and concerning all other circumstances necessary to discover the truth or falsehood.

These things premised, the witnesses received, and the propositions qualified, the promotor fiscal demands before the inquisitors, that the criminals be apprehended and imprisoned, that they may suffer the deserved punishment.

When the offence thus appears, and 'tis proper to apprehend the criminal, the inquisitor may then order him to be taken up. When they have determined upon his being apprehended, they give out the order to that officer, who according to the custom of the holy office, is to take up criminals; and his order is subscribed by the inquisitors.—If several persons are to be taken up the same day and time, they give an order for each person, which is inserted in their respective processes, that such acts, which are of great weight, may appear openly.

As to the second—All criminals have not alike places of imprisonment; their cells being either more terrible and dark, or more easy and chearful, according to the quality of the persons and their offences. In reality, there is no place in the prison of the inquisition that can be called pleasant or chearful, the whole prison is so horrible and nasty.

This prison is called in Spain and Portugal, *Santa-Casa*, i. e. the Holy House. Every thing, it seems, in this office must be holy. The prisons are so built, as the author of the history of the inquisition at Goa describes them, and as will appear from other relations, that they will hold a great number of persons. They consist of several porticoes, every one of which is divided into several small cells of a square form, each side being about ten foot. There are two rows of them, one being built over the other, and all of them vaulted. The upper ones
are

are enlightened by iron grates, placed above the height of a tall man. The lower ones are under ground, dark, without any window, and narrower than the upper ones. The walls are five foot thick. Each cell is fastened with two doors, the inner one thick, and covered over with iron; and, in the lower part of it, there is an iron grate. In the upper part of it, is a small window, through which they reach to the prisoner his meat, linen, and other necessaries, which is shut with two iron bolts. The outer door is entire, without any opening at all. They generally open it in the morning, from six o'clock till eleven, in order to refresh the air of the prison.

In all these prisons, the prisoners, men and woman, without any regard to birth or dignity, are shaved the first or second day of their imprisonment. Every prisoner hath two pots of water every day, one to wash, and the other to drink; a besom to cleanse the cell; a matt made of rushes to lie upon, and a large vessel to ease nature, with a cover to put over it, which is changed once every four days. The provisions which are given to the prisoners, are rated according to the season, and the dearth or plenty of eatables. But if any rich person is imprisoned, and will live and eat beyond the ordinary rate of provisions, and according to his own manner, he may be indulged, and have what is decent and fit for him; his servant, or servants, if he hath any, being with him in the prison. If there are any provisions left, the keeper, and no other, must take them, and give them to the poor. But if they find, by the very accusation, that any persons are to be punished with forfeiture of all their effects, they do not suffer them to live so plentifully, but order them a small pension for their subsistence, *viz.* about thirty maravedis, of the value of ten Dutch stivers. This agrees with the account of *Isaac Oratio*, who had a plentiful fortune at Seville,

ville, and was nevertheless used very hardly in the prison of the inquisition there. Although his estate was very large, yet he was allowed a very small pension to provide himself provision. This was flesh, which they made him sometimes dress and prepare for himself, without allowing him the help of any servant. In this manner are the richer prisoners treated. As to the poorer, and such who have not enough to supply themselves in prison, their allowance is fixed by the king, *viz.* the half of a silver piece of money, called a real, every day. Dr. *Geddes* tells us of one in the inquisition at Lisbon, who was allowed no more than three vintems a day; a vintem is about an English penny farthing. Out of this small sum, the buyer of their provision, whom they call the dispenser, and their washer, must be paid, and all other expenses that are necessary for the common supports of life. Besides, this very royal allowance for the prisoners, doth not come to them but through the hands of several persons, and those none of the most honest; first, by the receiver, then the dispenser, then the cook, then the prison keeper, who according to his office, distributes the provision amongst the prisoners. *Gonsalvius* adds, that he gave this particular account of this matter, because all these persons live, and have their certain profits out of this small allowance of the king to the prisoners; which coming to them through the crooked hands of these harpies, they cannot receive it till every one of them hath taken out more than a tenth part of it.

The author of the history of the inquisition at Goa tells us, this order is observed in distributing the provisions: the prisoners have meat given them three times every day; and even those who have the misfortune to be in this case, and have money, are not treated much better than others, because their riches are employed to make provision
for

for the poorer. I was informed by *Isaac Orobia*, that in Spain they sometimes give the prisoners coals, which they must light and then dress their own food : sometimes they allow them a candle.— Those who are confined in the lower cells, generally sit in darkness, and are sometimes kept there for several years, without any one's being suffered to go or to speak to them, except their keepers, and they only at certain hours, when they give them their provision. They are not allowed any books of devotion, but are shut up in darkness and solitude, that they may be broke with the horrors of so dreadful a confinement, and, by the miseries of it, forced to confess things which oftentimes they have never done.

And how dreadful the miseries of this prison are, we have a famous instance given us by *Reginald Gonsalvius Montanus*. In the age before the last, a certain English ship put in at the port of Cadiz, which the familiars of the inquisition, according to custom, searched upon the account of religion, before they suffered any person to come on shore. They seized on several English persons, who were on board, observing in them certain marks of evangelical piety, and of their having received the best instruction, and threw them into prison. In that ship there was a child, ten or twelve years old at most ; the son of a very rich English gentleman, to whom, as was reported, the ship and principal part of her loading belonged. Amongst others, they took up also this child. The pretence was, that he had in his hands the psalms of *David* in English. But, as *Gonsalvius* tells us, those who knew their avarice and cursed arts, may well believe, without doing any injury to the holy inquisition, that they had got the scent of his father's wealth, and that this was the true cause of the child's imprisonment, and of all that calamity that followed it. However, the ship, with all its cargo, was confiscated, and the child,

child, with the other prisoners, were carried to the prison of the inquisition at Seville, where he lay six or eight months. Being kept in so strait confinement for so long a while, the child, who had been brought up tenderly at home, fell into a very dangerous illness, through the dampness of the prison, and the badness of his diet. When the lords inquisitors were informed of this, they ordered him to be taken out of the prison, and carried, for the recovery of his health, to the hospital, which they call the *Cardinal*. Hither they generally bring all who happen to fall ill in the prison of the inquisition, where, besides the medicines, of which, according to the pious institution of the hospital, there is plenty, and a little better care, upon account of the distemper, nothing is abated of the severity of the former prison; no person, besides the physician and the servants of the hospital being allowed to visit the sick person; and, as soon as ever he begins to grow better, before he is fully recovered, he is put again into his former prison. The child, who had contracted a very grievous illness from that long and barbarous confinement, was carried into the hospital, where he lost the use of both his legs; nor was it ever known what became of him afterwards. In the mean while, it was wonderful that the child in so tender an age, gave noble proofs how firmly the doctrine of piety was rooted in his mind; oftentimes, but especially morning and evening, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and praying to Him, from whom he had been instructed by his parents to desire and hope for certain help; which the keeper having often observed, said, "he was already grown a stout little heretic."

About the same time a certain person was taken up and thrown into the same prison, who had voluntarily abjured the mahometan impiety, and came but a little before from Morocco, a famous city of

B

Mauritania,

Mauritania, and capital of the kingdom, into that of Spain, which lies directly over against it, with a design to turn christian. When he had observed that the christians were more vicious and corrupt than the moors he had left, he happened to say, that the mahometan law seemed to him better than the christian. For this, the good fathers of the faith laid hold of him, thrust him into prison, and used him so cruelly, that he said publicly, even when in confinement, that he never repented of his christianity, from the day he was baptized till after his having been in the inquisition, where he was forced, against his will, to behold all manner of violences and injuries whatsoever.

The complaint of *Constantine*, the preacher of Seville, was not less grievous, concerning the barbarities of this prison; who, although he had not as yet tasted of the tortures, yet often bewailed his misery in this prison, and cried out, "O my God, were there no Scythians in the world, no cannibals more fierce and cruel than Scythians, into whose hands thou couldst carry me, so that I might but escape the paws of these wretches!" *Olmedus* also, another person famous for piety and learning, fell into the inquisitors hands at Seville; and, through the inhumanity of his treatment, which had also proved fatal to *Constantine*, contracted a grievous illness, and, at last, died in the midst of the nastiness and stench. He was used to say, "throw me any where, O my God, so that I may but escape the hands of these wretches!"

The author of the history of Goa agrees in this account, who frankly owns, that through the cruelty and length of his imprisonment, he fell into despair, and thereby often attempted to destroy himself; first, by starving himself, and, because that did not succeed, he feigned himself sick, and when the physician of the inquisition found his pulse unequal,

equal, and that he was feverish, he ordered him to be let blood, which was done again five days after. When the doctor was gone, he unbound his arm every day, that so, by the large effusion of blood, he might continually grow weaker and weaker. In the mean while, he eat very little, that by hunger and loss of blood, he might put an end to his miserable life. Whilst he was in this sad condition, he had sent him a confessor, of the Franciscan order, who, by various arguments of comfort, endeavoured to recover him from his despair. They also gave him a companion in his prison, which was some comfort to him in his confinement. But growing well again, after about five months, they took his companion from him. The lonesomeness of his prison brought on again his melancholy and despair, which made him invent another method to destroy himself. He had a piece of gold money which he had concealed in his clothes, which he broke into two parts; and making it sharp, he opened with it a vein in each arm, and lost so much blood, that he fell into a swoon, the blood running about the prison. But some of the servants happening to come before the usual time to bring him something, found him in this condition. The inquisitor hereupon ordered him to be loaded with irons upon his arms and hands, and strictly watched. This cruelty provoked him to that degree, that he endeavoured to beat his brains out against the pavement and the walls; and undoubtedly the ligaments upon his arms would have been torn off, had he continued any longer in that state. Upon this they took off his chains, gave him good words, encouraged him, and sent him a companion, by whose conversation he was refreshed, and bore his misery with a little more easiness of mind. But after two months, they took him from him again; so that the solitude of his prison was more distressing to him than before.

The prisoners, as soon as ever they are thrown into prison, are commanded to give an account of their name and business; then they enquire after their wealth; and to induce them to give in an exact account, the inquisition promises them, if they are innocent, all that they discover to them shall be faithfully kept for, and restored to them; but that if they conceal any thing, it shall be confiscated, though they should be found not guilty. And, as in Spain and Portugal, most persons are fully persuaded of the sanctity of this tribunal, they willingly discover all their possessions, even the most concealed things of their houses, being certainly persuaded, that when their innocence shall appear, they shall soon recover their liberty and effects together.

But these miserable creatures are deceived; for he that once falls into the hands of these judges, is stripped at once of all he was possessed of. For if any one denies his crime, and is convicted by a sufficient number of witnesses, he is condemned as a negative convict, and all his effects confiscated: if to escape the prison, he confesses his crime, he is guilty by his own confession, and, in the judgment of all, justly stripped of his effects. When he is dismissed from prison, as a convert and penitent, he dares not defend his innocence, unless he desires to be thrown again into prison, and condemned, and, as a feigned penitent, to be delivered over to the secular arm.

When the prisoner is brought before his judge, he appears with all outward signs of humility. In this condition, he is brought out of prison by the warder. When he comes to the room of audience, the warder goes a little forward, and makes a profound reverence, then withdraws, and the prisoner enters by himself. In the midst of the audience room there is placed a crucifix, that reaches almost to the ceiling, between the arms of the pope and the

the inquisition. In the middle of the hall is a table about five foot long and four broad, with seats placed round it. At the end of the table sits the notary of the inquisition; in the middle the inquisitor is seated; and over against him the prisoner on a stool. Upon the table is a missal and a small crucifix, upon which the prisoner is commanded to lay his hand, and to swear that he will speak the truth, and keep every thing secret. After they have sufficiently interrogated him, the inquisitor rings a bell for the warder, who is commanded to carry back his prisoner to prison.

No one in the prison must so much as mutter, or make any noise, but must keep profound silence. If any one bemoans himself or bewails his misfortune, or prays to God with an audible voice, or sings a psalm or sacred hymn, the keepers, who continually watch in the porches, and can hear even the least sound, immediately come to him and admonish him that silence must be kept in that holy house. If the prisoner doth not obey, the keepers admonish him again. If, after this, the prisoner persists, the keeper opens the door, and prevents his noise by severely beating him with a stick, not only to chastise him, but to deter others, who, because the cells are contiguous, and deep silence is kept, can very easily hear the outcries and sound of the blows. I will add here a short story that I had from several persons, which, if true, shews us with what severity they keep this silence. A prisoner in the inquisition coughed; the keepers came to him and admonished him to forbear coughing, because it was unlawful to make any noise in that house. He answered, it was not in his power. However, they admonished him a second time to forbear it; and, because he did not, they stripped him naked, and cruelly beat him. This encreased his cough, for

B 3

which.

which they beat him so often, that at last he died through the pain and anguish of the stripes.

They insist so severely on keeping this silence, that they may cut off every degree of comfort from the afflicted; and especially for this reason, that the prisoners may not know one another, either by singing or any loud voice; for it oftentimes happens that after two or three years confinement in the prison of the inquisition, a man doth not know that his friend, nor a father that his children and wife, are in the same prison, till they all see each other in the act of faith; and finally, that the prisoners in the several cells may not talk with one another; which if ever found out, their cells are immediately changed.

If any one falls ill in the prison, they send to him a surgeon and physician, who administer all proper remedies to him to recover him to health. If there be any danger of his dying, they send him a confessor if he desires it. According to the provision of the Madrid instruction, Anno 1561, chap. 71. "If any criminal falls ill in prison, the inquisitors
" must take diligent care that he may have medicines, and all things necessary for his safety, and
" the advice of one physician or more, to recover
" him. And if he desires a confessor, let them assign him one of known probity, and who may be
" confided in, and let him be sworn to secrecy. If
" the penitent says any thing to him in confession,
" which he would have told out of the prison, let
" him not obey him in this by any means, nor discover any such commands. But if he enjoins him
" any thing out of confession, let him reveal that to
" the inquisitors. Farther, let the inquisitors admonish and instruct the confessor how he shall behave towards the penitent; particularly that he
" tell him, that since he was imprisoned for heresy,
" and accused as guilty of it, he cannot be absolved
" unless he judicially declares his heresy. Let other
" things

“ things be left to the judgment and conscience of
“ the confessor, who ought to be instructed, that
“ he may understand what is fit to done in such a
“ cause.”

If the criminal doth not ask for a confessor, and the physician belives the distemper to be dangerous, he must be persuaded by all means to confess; and if he judicially satisfies the inquisitors, he is to be reconciled to the church before he dies; and being absolved in judgment, the confessor must absolve him sacramentally. This is ordered by the same instruction.

If he is well, and desires a confessor, some are of opinion he may not have one granted him, unless he hath confessed judicially: others think he may; and, in this case, the confessor's business is to exhort him to confess his errors, and to declare the whole truth, as well of himself as of others, as he is bound, *de jura*, to do.

They are particularly careful not to put two or more in the same cell, unless the inquisitor for any special reason shall so order, that they may not concert with one another to conceal the truth, to make their escape, or to evade their interrogatories. The principal reason, indeed, seems to be, that, through the irksomeness of their imprisonment, they may confess whatsoever the inquisitors would have them. But if an husband and his wife are both imprisoned for the same offence, and there be no fear that one should prevent the other from making a free confession of the crime, they may be put in the same cell.

The inquisitors are obliged to visit the prisoners twice every month, and to enquire whether they have necessaries allowed them, and whether they are well or not. In this visit they usually ask him in these very words, how he is? how he hath his health? whether he wants any thing? whether his warder

is civil to him? *i. e.* whether he speaks to him in a reproachful and severe manner; whether he gives him his appointed provision, and clean linen? and the like. These are exactly the sentences and words they use in these visits, to which they neither add any thing, nor act agreeably; for they use them only for form's sake; and when the inquisitor hath spoken to them, he immediately goes away, scarce staying for an answer: and although any one of the prisoners complains that he is not well used, it is of no advantage to him, nor is he better treated for the future. If there be occasion or necessity, it will be convenient for them to visit the prisoners three or four times every month; yea, as often as they think proper, *viz.* when the criminal bears with impatience the misfortune and infamy of his imprisonment; in such case, the inquisitor must endeavour to comfort him very often, not only by himself, but by others, and to tell him, that if he makes a free confession, his whole affair shall be quickly and kindly ended.

The inquisitors must take care not to talk with the criminals when they are examined or visited; upon any other affairs but such as relate to their business. Nor must the inquisitor be alone when he visits, or otherwise gives them audience, but must have with him his colleague, or at least a notary or some other faithful servant of the holy office.

This also they are particularly careful of, that the criminals may not be removed from one cell to another, nor associate with any other. If any prisoners have been shut up together at once in the same cell, when they are removed, they must be removed together, that hereby they may be prevented from communicating any thing that hath been transacted in the prison. This is more especially to be observed, in case any of them recall their confession, after they have been removed from one cell and
company

company to another. But if a criminal confesses, and is truly converted, he may more easily be removed from one cell to another, because the inquisitor is in no pain for fear of his retracting, but may oftentimes make use of him to draw out the truth from other prisoners.

If women are imprisoned, they must each of them have, according to their quality, one honest woman, at least for a companion, who must never be absent from her, to prevent all suspicion of evil. This companion must be ancient, of a good life, pious and faithful. Sometimes when women are to be imprisoned, they do not carry them to the prison of the inquisitors, especially if they are regulars, if the prisons be within the walls of the monasteries, but to the convents of the nuns. When this happens, they command the abbess or prioress to admit no discourse with the prisoner without express leave of the inquisitor, but diligently to observe the order given her. But, when the cause is of importance and full of danger, and such they esteem all that relate to the faith, they think it safer that women should be imprisoned in the prisons of the inquisitors; but the cardinals inquisitors general are to be consulted in this affair; who, after mature consideration, are to determine, whether it be most expedient that such criminals should be kept in the prisons of the bishops, or inquisitors regulars, especially if they are young and handsome, as is often the case of those who are taken up for telling people's fortunes about their sweethearts.

It is farther the custom and received use of this holy tribunal, that such who are imprisoned for heresy are not admitted to hear mass, and other prayers which are said within the prison, till their cause is determined. Their principal pretence for this custom is, that it may possibly happen, when there is a great number of criminals, that the several accomplices, companions,

companions, and partakers of the crime, may, at least by nods and signs, discover to one another how they may escape judgment, or conceal the truth.

But the true and genuine reason is, that the prisoner may have nothing to contemplate besides his present misfortune; that, so being broken with miseries of his confinement, he may confess whatsoever the inquisitors would have him. For this reason they deny them books, and all other things that would be any relief to them in their tedious imprisonment. If any one of the prisoners whatsoever prays the inquisitor, when he visits him, that he may have some good books, or the holy bible, he is answered, that the true book is to discover the truth, and to exonerate his conscience before that holy tribunal; and that this is the book which he must diligently study, *viz.* to recover the remembrance of every thing faithfully, and to declare it to their lordships, who will immediately prescribe a remedy to his languishing soul. If the prisoner, in the same or next visit, is importunate about it, he will be commanded silence, because if he asks to please himself, they may grant or deny him, according to their pleasure.

The keeping the prison anciently belonged to the executors office; and as often as he was absent, he was obliged to provide another keeper at his own charge: but now the keeper is created by the inquisitor general, and is different from the executor.

Those who keep the prisons for the crime of heresy, must swear before the bishop and inquisitor, that they will faithfully keep their prisoners, and observe all other things prescribed them.

There must be two keepers to every prison, industrious and faithful men, one appointed by the bishop, the other by the inquisitor. Each of them may have their proper servant. Besides this, to every cell there must be two different keys, each

keeper,

keeper to have one, which they may give to their servants to supply the prisoners with necessaries.— The bishop and inquisitor have no power to agree that there shall be but one keeper, because it doth not seem safe enough; neither is it allowed them by law, nor appointed in their cause or favour.

But now there is only one keeper appointed in every province, chosen by the inquisitor general, who is not allowed to give the prisoners their food; but the inquisitors chuse some proper person in this office, who is commonly called the dispenser. The provisions they give the criminals are generally prepared and dressed in the house of the inquisition; because if they were to be prepared in the houses of the criminals themselves, or any where else, something might easily be hid under them, that might furnish them with the means to conceal the truth, or to elude or escape judgment. This, however, is to be left to the prudence and pleasure of the inquisitors, whether and when the criminals may, without danger, prepare their provision in their own houses. But upon account of the hazard attending it, the inquisitors but seldom, and not without exquisite care, gratify them in this particular. If any things are sent by their friends, relations, or domestics, the keeper and dispenser never suffer them to have it, without first consulting the inquisitors.

As these keepers have it in their power greatly to injure or serve their prisoners, they must promise by an oath, before the bishop and inquisitors, that they will exercise a faithful care and concern in keeping them, and that neither of them will speak to any of them but in presence of the other, and that they will not defraud them of their provision, nor of those things which are brought to them.— Their servants also are obliged to take their oath.

But, notwithstanding this law, a great part of the provision appointed for the prisoners is withheld
from

from them by their covetous keepers; and if they are accused for this to the inquisitors, they are much more gently punished than if they had used any mercy towards them. *Reginald Gonsalve* relates, that in his time, *Gasper Bennavidius* was keeper of a prison,—“ He was a man of monstrous covetousness and cruelty, who defrauded his miserable prisoners of a great part of their provisions, which were ill dressed, and scarce the tenth part of what was allowed them, and sold it secretly, for no great price, at the Triana. Besides, he wholly kept from them the little money allowed them to pay for the washing of their linen; thus suffering them to abide many days together in a nasty condition, deceiving the inquisitor and treasurer, who put that money to the keeper’s account, as though it had been expended every week for the use of the prisoners, for whom it is appointed. Neither was it very difficult to deceive them, because they took but little pains to enquire out the truth. If any one of the prisoners complained, muttered, or opened his mouth upon account of this intolerable usage, the cruel wretch, who had divested himself of all humanity, had a remedy at hand. He brought the prisoner immediately out of his apartment, and put him down into a place they call Mazmorro, a deep cistern that had no water in it. There he left him for several days together without any thing to lie on, not so much as straw. His provision there was so very rotten, that it was more proper to destroy his health by sickness, than to preserve it, or support him in life. All this he did without ever consulting the inquisitor, and yet fraudulently and villainously pretended their command to his prisoner. If any one besought him to complain to the inquisitors for so injurious a treatment, for they could not do it by any other person, and to desire an audience, the cunning wretch,

"wretch, knowing that the whole blame must lie
 "upon himself, pretended that he had asked, but
 "could not obtain it. By such forged answers, he
 "kept the miserable prisoner in that deep pit twelve
 "or fifteen days, more or less, till he had fully gra-
 "tified his anger and cruelty. After this he brought
 "him out, and threw him into his former prison,
 "persuading him that this favour was owing to his
 "humanity and care, having made intercession for
 "him with their lordships. In short, his thefts and
 "injuries with which he plagued his prisoners, who
 "were otherwise miserable enough, were so nume-
 "rous, that some persons of interest with the inqui-
 "sitors at length accused him before them. Upon
 "this he was imprisoned himself; and being found
 "guilty of many false accusations, he received this
 "sentence: that he should come out at a public act
 "of the faith, carrying a wax candle in his hand, be
 "banished five years from the city, and forfeit the
 "whole sum of money, which by virtue of his of-
 "fice he was to have received from the holy tri-
 "bunal.

"This very man, whilst he was keeper, had in
 "his family an ancient servant maid, who, observ-
 "ing the distress of the prisoners labouring under
 "intolerable hunger and nastiness, thro' the wick-
 "edness and barbarity of her master, was so moved
 "with pity towards them, being herself well in-
 "clined to the evangelical piety, that she often spoke
 "to them through the doors of their cells, comfort-
 "ed them, and, as well as she could, exhorted them
 "to patience, many times putting them in meat un-
 "der their doors, in proportion to the mean and low
 "abilities of her condition. And when she had no-
 "thing of her own, by which to shew her liberality
 "to the prisoners of Christ, she stole good part of
 "that provision from the wicked thief her master,
 "which he had stolen from the prisoners, and re-

from them by their covetous keepers; and if they are accused for this to the inquisitors, they are much more gently punished than if they had used any mercy towards them. *Reginald Gonsalve* relates, that in his time, *Gasper Bennavidius* was keeper of a prison,—“ He was a man of monstrous covetousness and cruelty, who defrauded his miserable prisoners of a great part of their provisions, which were ill dressed, and scarce the tenth part of what was allowed them, and sold it secretly, for no great price, at the Triana. Besides, he wholly kept from them the little money allowed them to pay for the washing of their linen; thus suffering them to abide many days together in a nasty condition, deceiving the inquisitor and treasurer, who put that money to the keeper’s account, as though it had been expended every week for the use of the prisoners, for whom it is appointed. Neither was it very difficult to deceive them, because they took but little pains to enquire out the truth. If any one of the prisoners complained, muttered, or opened his mouth upon account of this intolerable usage, the cruel wretch, who had divested himself of all humanity, had a remedy at hand. He brought the prisoner immediately out of his apartment, and put him down into a place they call Mazmorro, a deep cistern that had no water in it. There he left him for several days together without any thing to lie on, not so much as straw. His provision there was so very rotten, that it was more proper to destroy his health by sickness, than to preserve it, or support him in life. All this he did without ever consulting the inquisitor, and yet fraudulently and villainously pretended their command to his prisoner. If any one besought him to complain to the inquisitors for so injurious a treatment, for they could not do it by any other person, and to desire an audience, the cunning wretch,

"wretch, knowing that the whole blame must lie upon himself, pretended that he had asked, but could not obtain it. By such forged answers, he kept the miserable prisoner in that deep pit twelve or fifteen days, more or less, till he had fully gratified his anger and cruelty. After this he brought him out, and threw him into his former prison, persuading him that this favour was owing to his humanity and care, having made intercession for him with their lordships. In short, his thefts and injuries with which he plagued his prisoners, who were otherwise miserable enough, were so numerous, that some persons of interest with the inquisitors at length accused him before them. Upon this he was imprisoned himself; and being found guilty of many false accusations, he received this sentence: that he should come out at a public act of the faith, carrying a wax candle in his hand, be banished five years from the city, and forfeit the whole sum of money, which by virtue of his office he was to have received from the holy tribunal.

"This very man, whilst he was keeper, had in his family an ancient servant maid, who, observing the distress of the prisoners labouring under intolerable hunger and nastiness, thro' the wickedness and barbarity of her master, was so moved with pity towards them, being herself well inclined to the evangelical piety, that she often spoke to them through the doors of their cells, comforted them, and, as well as she could, exhorted them to patience, many times putting them in meat under their doors, in proportion to the mean and low abilities of her condition. And when she had nothing of her own, by which to shew her liberality to the prisoners of Christ, she stole good part of that provision from the wicked thief her master, which he had stolen from the prisoners, and re-

" stored it to them. And that we may the more
 " wonder at the providence of God, who so orders
 " it, that the worst of parents shall not have always
 " the worst of children, but sometimes even the best,
 " a little daughter of the keeper himself was greatly
 " assisting to the maid in these pious thefts. By
 " means of this servant, the prisoners had informa-
 " tion of the state of the affairs of their brethren
 " and fellow prisoners, which much comforted them,
 " and was oftentimes of great service to their cause.
 " But, at length, the matter was discovered by the
 " lords inquisitors, by whom she was thrown into
 " prison for a year, and underwent the same fate
 " with the other prisoners; was condemned to walk
 " in the public procession with a yellow garment,
 " and to receive two hundred stripes, which was ex-
 " ecuted upon her the following day through the
 " streets of the city, with the usual pomp and cru-
 " elty. To all this was added, banishment from the
 " city and its territories for ten years. Her title
 " was, *the Favourite and Aides of heretics*. What
 " excited the implacable indignation of the lords,
 " the fathers of the faith, against her, was, that they
 " discovered in her examination, that she had re-
 " vealed the secrets of the most holy tribunal to
 " some of the inhabitants of the city, particularly
 " relating to the provision allotted to the prisoners.
 " From both these examples, and from their differ-
 " ent and unequal punishment, any one may see how
 " much safer it is to add to the affliction of the pri-
 " soners in their prison, than to comfort them by
 " any act of humanity and mercy whatsoever."

And, and in order that the prison for hereticks
 may be kept secret, no one of the officials, no, not
 the judge himself, as we shall afterwards see, can
 enter it alone, or speak with the prisoners, but be-
 fore another of the officials, nor without the pre-
 vious order of the inquisitors. All are obliged to
 swear

swear that they will observe this, that no one may see or speak to the prisoners besides the person who gives them their necessaries, who must be a faithful honest person; and is obliged to swear that he will not discover the secrets, and must be searched, to prevent his carrying any orders or letters to the prisoners.

This command they will have observed as most sacred, because, as they say, secrecy is the strength of the inquisition, which might easily be violated unless this order be punctually kept, and therefore they always most severely punish those who transgress it. *Gonsalvus Montanus* gives us a very remarkable instance of this. "A few years ago, viz. before *Gonsalvus* wrote this account, one *Peter ab Herera*, a man not altogether vile, but of some humanity, and not very old, was appointed keeper of the tower of Triana, which is the prison of the inquisition. It happened, as it often doth in such numerous and promiscuous imprisonments, that, amongst other prisoners committed to his custody, there was a certain good matron with her two daughters, who were put in different cells, and earnestly desired the liberty of seeing one another, and comforting each other in so great a calamity. They therefore earnestly entreated the keeper, that he would suffer them to be together for one quarter of an hour, that they might have the satisfaction of embracing each other. He, being moved with humanity and compassion, allowed them to be together, and talk with one another for half an hour; and, after they had indulged their mutual affections, he put them, as they were before, in their separate prisons. A few days after this, they were put, with great cruelty, to the torture; and the keeper, being afraid that through the severity of their torments, they should discover to the lords, the fathers inquisitors,

" his small humanity, in suffering them to converse together for half an hour without the inquisitors leave, through terror, went himself to the holy tribunal, of his own accord confessed his sin, and prayed for pardon; foolishly believing, that by such his confession, he should prevent the punishment that threatened him for this action. But the lords inquisitors judged this to be so heinous a crime, that they ordered him immediately to be thrown into prison; and such was the cruelty of his treatment, and the disorder of mind that followed on it, that he soon grew distracted. However, his disorder and madness did not save him from a more grievous punishment; for, after he had lain a full year in that cursed prison, they brought him out in the public procession, cloathed with the yellow garment, and an halter round his neck, as though he had been a common thief, and condemned him first to receive two hundred lashes through the streets of the city, and then to the gallies for six years. The day after the procession, as he was carried from the Triana to be whipt with the usual solemnity; his madness, which usually seized him every other hour, came on him; and throwing himself from the ass, on which for the greater shame he was carried, he flew upon the inquisitory *Alguazile*, (who is an officer that executes the orders of the inquisition) and snatching from him a sword, had certainly killed him, had he not been prevented by the mob who attended him, and set him again upon the ass, and guarded him till he had received the two hundred lashes, according to his sentence. After this, the lords inquisitors ordered, that as he had behaved himself indecently towards the *Alguazile*, four years more should be added to the six for which he was at first condemned to the gallies."

These keepers are answerable for the smallest fault,

fault, for they are to use the same care in the custody of their prisoners, as fathers ought to do in governing their families; so that if they suffer any one to escape from prison, they are to be punished according to the nature of their offence. It is therefore their business frequently to visit and search the cells of their prisoners, to prevent any thing from being clandestinely carried in, by which they may destroy themselves, dig through the walls, and so escape. Their care of the women, is to be peculiarly strict, since the sex is naturally frail, and more subject than men to yield to passion and despair, and so are more likely to seek an occasion of destroying themselves. They must, above all other things, take care that they do not behave themselves indecently towards their women prisoners. Thus the congregation of cardinals inquisitors general, condemned a keeper to the galleys for seven years and to perpetual banishment from the place where he committed his offence, for having carnal knowledge of a woman that was prisoner in the holy office; as appears from the letters of cardinal *Arignius*, January 13th, 1610; directed to the inquisitor of Cremona.

If the inquisitor thinks it necessary to prevent the escape of any prisoners, he may lay them in irons. If the poverty of the inquisitors is so great, or their prisons so defective, as that they are not fit to hold in safe custody, either for the thinness of the walls, or for want of iron bars to the windows, or sufficient bolts for the doors, if the magistrate be required by the inquisitor, he must take care of the safe custody of the prisoners, according to the constitution of *Alexander IV*.

What the several duties of the messenger, door-keeper, and physician are, is plain enough from their very names. They must be honest men, and not suspected, and born of old christians.

Of the Examination of the Prisoners.

WHEN the criminal is put in prison, he is brought before the inquisitor. The place where he appears before the inquisitor, is called by the Portuguese, the table of the holy office. At the farther end of it there is placed a crucifix, raised up almost as high as the ceiling. In the middle of the room there is a table. At that end which is nearest the crucifix, sits the secretary or notary of the inquisition. The criminal is brought in by the beadle, with his head, arms, and feet naked, and is followed by one of the keepers. When they come to the chamber of audience, the beadle enters first, makes a profound reverence before the inquisitor, and then withdraws. After this the criminal enters alone, who is ordered to sit down on a bench at the other end of the table, over against the secretary. The inquisitor sits on his right hand. On the table near the criminal lies a missal, or book of the gospels, and he is ordered to lay his hand on one of them, and to swear that he will declare the truth, and keep secrecy.

After taking this oath of declaring the truth both of himself and others, the inquisitor interrogates him of divers matters. As, whether he knows why he was taken up, or hath been informed of it by any one or more persons? Where, when and how he was apprehended? If he says that he knows nothing of it, he is asked, whether he cannot guess at the reason? Whether he knows in what prisons he

he is detained? and upon what account men are imprisoned there? if he says he cannot guess at the cause of his imprisonment, but knows that he is in the prisons of the holy office, where heretics and persons suspected of heresy are confined, he is told, that since he knows persons are confined there for their profanation of religion, he ought to conclude, that he also is confined for the same reason, and must therefore declare what he believes to be the cause of his own apprehension and confinement in the prisons of the holy office. If he says he cannot imagine what it should be, before he is asked any other questions, he receives a gentle admonition, and is put in mind of the lenity of the holy office towards those who confess without forcing, and of the rigour of justice used towards those who are obstinate. They also compare other tribunals with the holy office, and remind him, that in others the confession of the crime draws after it immediate execution and punishment; but that in the court of the inquisition, those who confess, and are penitent, are treated with greater gentleness. After this he is admonished in writing, and told, that the ministers of the holy office never take up any one, or are used to apprehend any one, without a just cause; and that therefore they earnestly beseech him, and command and enjoin him, exactly to recollect and diligently to consider his actions, to examine his conscience, and purge it from all those offences and errors it labours under, and for which he is informed against.

After this he is asked, what race he comes of? Who were his parents and ancestors? that hereby he may declare all his family. Whether any one of them was at any time taken up by the holy office, and enjoined penance? This they are especially asked who descend from jews, mahometans, and sectaries. Where he was brought up? In what places he hath dwelt? Whether he ever changed his country?

country? Why he did so, and went into another place? With whom he conversed in the aforesaid places? who were his friends, and with whom he was intimate? Whether he ever conversed with any of his acquaintance about matters of religion, or heard them speak about religion? In what place, and when, and how often, and of what things or matters they conversed? They particularly ask these questions of persons whom they imagine to be crafty and cunning, and not easily brought to declare the truth, that from their kindred, country, education, employment, time past, acquaintance, friendship, behaviour, and words, the inquisitor may draw strong arguments of suspicion. These questions are especially asked, when such criminals are examined, who have dwelt in the countries of schismatics, heretics, and other infidel and erroneous persons, because, when they have dwelt a long while amongst such persons, they are believed the more easily to have followed their practices.

He is moreover asked, of what profession he is, and what employment of life he follows; Whether he be rich or poor? What returns he hath, and what the expenses of his living? Then he is commanded to give an account of his life, and to declare what he hath done from his childhood, even to this time. And that he may declare all this, he is asked in what places or cities he studied, and what studies he followed; Who were his masters, whose names he must tell. What arts he learned? What books he hath had, and read? And whether he hath now any books treating of religion, and what? Whether ever he hath been examined and cited, or sued, or proceſsed before any other tribunal, or the tribunal of the holy inquisition, and for what causes? and whether he was absolved or condemned, by what judge, and in what year; whether ever he was excommunicated, and for what cause? Whether he was afterwards absolved or condemned, and for what

what reason? Whether he hath every year sacramentally confessed his sins, how often, and in what church? Then he is commanded to give the names of his confessors, and of those from whom he hath received the eucharist, and especially for the ten years last past, and more. What orations, or holy prayers he recites? Whether he hath any enemies, whose names he must tell, and the reasons of their enmity.

If the criminal is persuaded by these, or by more or less such interrogatories, openly to confess the truth, his cause is finished, because it is immediately known what will be the issue of it.

But if after all these interrogatories the prisoner persists in the negative, and says he doth not know why he is cited or sent to prison, the inquisitor replies, that since it appears from his own words that he will not discover the truth, and that there is no proof of his having such enmities with any persons, or that there are no such causes of hatred as he alleges, by which others could, or ought to be induced slanderously, and falsely to inform against him, that therefore there arises the stronger suspicion, that the depositions against him in the holy office are true. And therefore he is beseeched and adjured by the bowels of mercy of Christ Jesus, to consider better and better, and ingenuously to confess the truth, and to declare whether he hath erred in words or deeds in the aforesaid matter relating to the faith, and the holy office, or rendered himself suspected to others.

All these interrogatories proposed to the criminals, and their answers and sayings, as proposed and spoken, are faithfully and at large to be written, down by the notary; and if the criminal can write, he subscribes it; if he cannot, he puts the sign of the cross.

If by such general interrogatories the inquisitor cannot draw from the prisoner a confession of the crime

crime of which he is accused, he comes to particular interrogatories, which relate to the matter itself, or the crimes or heresies for which the criminal was denounced. For instance, if he was accused for denying purgatory, then one, two, or three days after his first examination, he is again interrogated by the inquisitor, whether he hath any thing, and what, to say, besides what he said in his other examination? Whether he hath thought better of the matter, and can recollect the cause of his imprisonment, and former examination, or hath at least any suspicion, who could accuse him to the holy office, and of what matters? Whether he hath heard any one discoursing of paradise, purgatory, and hell? What he heard concerning that matter? Who they were that he heard speaking or disputing of those things? Whether he ever discoursed of them? What he hath believed, and doth now believe about purgatory? If he answers, that his faith concerning it hath been right, and denies any ill belief, but that he believes as holy mother church believes and teaches, he is ordered to say what the holy roman mother church doth think and believe concerning this article.

When he hath given in his answer, he is admonished to consider well and tell the truth, and to beware of lying, because the contrary is proved by witness against him, *viz.* that speaking of purgatory, he said such and such things; and then they recite the words which the denouncer and witness have deposed, were spoken by him. And thus he is successively in the same, or another examination interrogated in the same manner, concerning the several articles for which he is denounced: as, whether he said, that simple fornication is no sin, that it is lawful to invoke devils, and offer sacrifices to them, and the like. All these things the notary re-
ceives,

ceives, as in the first examination, and the prisoner subscribes them.

If the prisoner's answers do not agree with his former answers, he is examined again and again; and, as shall hereafter be shewn, they proceed to farther remedies. And whatever the popish doctors may write, they who have been in the prison of the inquisition with one voice complain, that they are left in uncertainty for a long while, what are the crimes of which they are accused; and that the inquisitors would willingly draw from their own mouths a confession of crimes to which they are not conscious. And this is cunningly invented for this reason, that if any person should have happened to have spoken any thing not agreeable to the roman faith, and of which possibly he is not accused, he may discover those things also, because he is uncertain of what crime he is accused, on account of that horrid silence which is there observed; or that he may accuse himself falsely of certain things to free himself from that dreadful prison. So that they all affirm their accusations are not discovered to them till after a long confinement, that so being broken and tired out with a continued and horrible imprisonment, they may confess of themselves things that never came into their minds.

If the prisoner knows the reason of his being apprehended, and openly confesses every thing of which he hath been accused to the inquisitor, he is commended, and encouraged to hope for a speedy deliverance. If he confesses some things, but cannot guess at others, he is commended for taking up the purpose of accusing himself, and exhorted by the bowels of mercy of Jesus Christ, to proceed, and ingenuously to confess every thing else of which he is accused, that so he may experience that kindness and mercy which this tribunal uses towards those who manifest a real repentance of their crimes by
a sincere

a sincere and voluntary confession. If the case doth not relate to formal heresy, but to some kind of fortune-telling, or heretical word, and the prisoner confesses the act or word, but denies the heretical intention, the inquisitors use all their endeavours to draw from him also a confession. And first they enquire, whether that fact or word was committed once, or oftner? If oftner, they do not easily believe the criminal, affirming his good intention and belief; because the oftner an heretical proposition was uttered, there arises a greater suspicion, that both his intention and faith were bad.

If by no means he can draw out a confession from the prisoner, he treats him more kindly in his food and drink, and procures certain persons, no ways suspected concerning the faith, to go to him, and frequently to converse with him of several things, not at all relating to his cause, and at length to persuade him to have confidence in them, and to advise him to confess the truth, promising that the inquisitor shall be favourable to him, and that they will be mediators in his behalf. At length the inquisitor comes along with them, and promises to shew him favour if he will confess the truth, for all is gracious that is done for the conversion of heretics, and even their penances are graces and remedies. If the person accused by this means prays for favour and confesses his error, the inquisitor answers, "you shall have much greater favour than you asked:" but promises it only in general terms, for he thinks he fulfils his promise in shewing the least kindness to him afterwards. And when they promise to shew favour, it is understood only of those punishments which are left to their own power, *viz.* several penitential punishments, because they cannot remit those which are appointed by the law. They farther teach, that notwithstanding the promise of such grace, they may inflict penitential and arbitrary punishments;

nishments ; because, if after a long time, continual admonitions, and sometimes after the torture, criminals confess their offence upon the promise of such grace, the inquisitors may legally and justly inflict more grievous penitential punishments, if they omit the lesser ; for if one or another be remitted, they think they abundantly satisfy their promise.

And by these flattering assurances they sometimes overcome the minds of more unwary persons ; and when they have obtained the designed end, immediately forget them all. Of this the following is a remarkable instance.

In the first fire that was blown up at Seville, Ann. 1558, or 1559, amongst many others who were taken up, there was a certain pious matron, with her two virgin daughters, and her niece by her sister, who was married. As they endured those tortures of all kinds, with a truly manlike constancy, by which they endeavoured to make them perfidiously betray their brethren in Christ, and especially to accuse one another, the inquisitor at length commanded one of the daughters to be sent for to audience. There he discoursed with her alone for a considerable time, in order to comfort her, as indeed she needed it. When the discourse was ended, the girl was remanded to her prison. Some days after, he acted the same part again, causing her to be brought before him several days towards the evening, detaining her for a considerable while ; sometimes telling her, how much he was grieved for her afflictions, and then intermixing familiarly enough other pleasant and agreeable things. All this, as the event shewed, had only this tendency, that after he had persuaded the poor simple girl, that he was really, and with a fatherly affection, concerned for her calamity, and would consult as a father, what might be for her benefit and salvation, and that of her mother and sisters, she might wholly throw herself into

D

his

his protection. After some days spent in such familiar discourses, during which he pretended to mourn with her over her calamity, and to shew himself affected with her miseries, and to give her all the proofs of his goodwill, in order, as far as he could, to remove them, when he knew he had deceived the girl, he begins to persuade her to discover what she knew of herself, her mother, sisters, and aunts, who were not yet apprehended, promising upon oath, that if she would faithfully discover to him all that she knew of that affair, he would find out a method to relieve her from all her misfortunes, and to send them all back again to their houses. The girl, who had no very great penetration, being thus allured by the promises and persuasions of the father of the faith, begins to tell him some things relating to the holy doctrine she had been taught, and about which they used to confer with one another. When the inquisitor had now got hold of the thread, he dexterously endeavoured to find his way throughout the whole labyrinth, oftentimes calling the girl to audience, that what she had deposed, might be taken down in a legal manner, always persuading her, that this would be the only just means to put an end to all her evils. In the last audience, he renews to her all his promises, by which he had before assured her of her liberty and the like. But when the poor girl expected the performance of them, the said inquisitor, with his followers, finding the success of his craftiness, by which he had in part drawn out of the girl, what before they could not extort from her by torments, determined to put her to the torture again, to force out of her what they thought she had yet concealed.—Accordingly, she was made to suffer the most cruel part of it, even the rack, and the torture by water, till at last they had squeezed out of her, as with a press, both the heresies and accusations of persons they

they had been hunting after. For, through the extremity of her torture, she accused her mother and sisters, and several others, who were afterwards taken up and tortured, and burnt alive in the same fire with the girl.

But if they do not succeed in this way, the inquisitor permits some person or other who is not unacceptable to the prisoner, to go to him and converse with him, and if it be needful, to feign himself still one of his own sect, but that he abjured through fear, and discovered the truth to the inquisitor. When he finds that the prisoner confides in him, he comes to him again late in the evening, keeps on a discourse with him; at length pretending it is too late to go away, and that therefore he will stay with him all night in the prison, that they may converse together, and the prisoner may be persuaded by the other's discourse, to confess to one another what they have committed. In the meanwhile, there are persons standing at a proper place without the prison, to hear and to take notice of their words, who, when there is need, are attended by a notary.

Now, the person who thus treacherously draws out any thing according to his desire from his fellow prisoners, prays the prison-keeper, when, according to custom, he is visiting his prisoners, to desire that he may have an audience: for this is the method the prisoners take; and when he goes out of his prison to give an account of his office, he discovers not only what he heard from any of the prisoners, but also how they received the doctrine proposed to them, whether with a chearful or angry countenance, and the like; if they refused to give them an answer, and what they themselves think of them. And the accusations of such a wretch they look on as the best and most unexceptionable evidence, al-

althought he person be otherwise one of no manner of worth, credit, or regard.

These sort of persons they call *fies*; and, as *Gonsalvus* tells us, they may be known and found out by this one thing, that for the most part they thrust themselves into such sort of conversations, without any one's asking them, and begin very impertinently such discourses concerning doctrine. And therefore he advises, that if the prisoners act prudently, they will let them talk themselves weary, without giving them any answer.

Lately in the inquisition in Spain and Portugal, another method is taken to draw a confession from the prisoners, *viz.* The inquisitor suborns a certain person to go and speak to the prisoner, and to tell him, he comes of himself, and of his own accord, and to exhort him to tell the inquisitor the truth, because he is a merciful man, and such fine tales. This is now particularly the custom in Spain and Portugal, as to those they call the new christians. If the prisoner affirms himself to be a catholic, and denies that he is a jew, and is not convicted by a sufficient number of witnesses, they suborn one to persuade him to confess. If he protests himself innocent, the other replies, that he also hath been in prison, and that his protesting his innocence signified nothing. What, had you rather dwell for ever in prison, and render your life miserable, by being for ever parted from your wife and children, than redeem your freedom by confessing the crime? By this and other like things, the prisoners are oftentimes persuaded to confess not only real, but fictitious crimes. And when their constancy is thus almost overcome, the inquisitor commands them to be brought before him, that they may make him a confession of their faults.

Gonsalvus justly wonders, how men can be of so devilish a temper, as voluntarily to hire themselves

out to such offices, and at so great an expense to themselves, who, in order to obtain their desire, do not refuse to be prisoners with others, even for two or three months together, in a vile narrow prison, but bear willingly, what the prisoners themselves, bear with the greatest uneasiness, all the inconveniencies of it, hunger, nastiness, and stench; and what is more wonderful, go out of one prison into another, and then into a third, twice, thrice, four times, always experiencing the same inconveniencies, and passing their whole lives in such a circle of delights.

After these examinations, if the prisoner confesses nothing, he is carried back to prison, and there kept sometimes for a whole year before he is again brought up to the inquisitor. In the mean while, if he desires an audience to confess certain matters, he may gently rap at the door of his prison: the keeper being acquainted herewith by his officers, immediately comes to him, and is desired by him to ask the favour of the inquisitor being brought before him.

If the criminal will not answer to the interrogatories judicially put to him, or answers uncertainly and doubtfully, as, I do not know, I do not remember, I have forgot; or when he answers as to the main fact, but refuses to answer concerning the principal circumstances of the crime, if the circumstances are such, which it is probable he may remember, he may be put to the torture to make him precisely answer affirmatively or negatively; because criminals are not apprehended for the crime of heresy without legal proofs, *i. e.* more than half full proof. It is the same case if they pretend madness. Sometimes also they are humbled by imprisonment and fasting.

And to shew that they deal more mildly in their tribunal than in others, they add, that in other tribunals,

bunals, when the criminal is accused of any certain fact, he hath not time allowed him to deliberate whether he will confess or be tried, but is immediately compelled to answer. But that in this tribunal, where criminals are dealt with more mildly and gently, they not only give them time to answer when they ask it, but oftentimes admonish, and even invite them, to think better of the matter, and carefully to recall to their remembrance, their actions and words, that they may answer truly, and that for this reason they are often examined and interrogated. But in truth, this pretence of mercy is used only for this end, that the criminal, who if convicted by two agreeing witnesses, and still persisting in the negative, is sure to be condemned as a negative without mercy, and delivered over to the secular court, may, through fear of this horrible punishment, confess the crime he is accused of, and so be reconciled as a penitent, by certain penances laid on him by way of punishment, or delivered over as impenitent to the secular court, and burnt alive. But if he revokes his confession when made, and be not legally and fully convicted by witnesses, he is most cruelly tortured, because by his own confession he hath given proof against himself sufficient for the torture. If he is overcome by the torture, and renews his confession, he is punished as an heretic; if he overcomes the torture, he is enjoined salutary penances at the pleasure of the inquisitor, as one suspected of heresy.

As often as the criminals or witnesses are examined, either in their first or after audiences, when the examination is ended, before they go from audience, the inquisitors order the notary clearly and distinctly to read over to them their depositions, that so the criminals or witnesses may add, diminish, correct, or change what they please; that, if there be any mistake, it may be rectified, which otherwise
 scarce

scarce could be. For if after the criminal or witness goes from audience, or if at any distance of time after, they would amend or alter what they have said, it would not be allowed them. And therefore the notary, at the end of the examination, writes down, that the deposition was read over to the criminals, or witnesses, and adds whatever either of them added, diminished, altered, or amended.

If, besides the deposition of the informer, and the witnesses named by him, they have any other matters, the inquisitors enquire farther, that the evidence may be more fully confirmed. This they particularly observe, when the witnesses or criminal name any other persons in their examination on one side or the other. If such persons are present, the inquisitor orders them to be called and interrogated. If they are absent, and it be not safe or easy to come at them, he writes to the inquisitor, or bishop, in whose diocese they are, that he should cite and interrogate them privately, and find out the truth, and transmit the matter to him faithfully and secretly as he discovers it.

Of the Torture.

IN compliance with the curiosity of our readers, we have judged it necessary to describe the place and manner of torturing criminals.

The bishop and inquisitor meet together, and by an interlocutory sentence, pronounce
that

that the accused person is to be put to the torture such a day and such an hour. For neither the bishop without the inquisitor, nor the inquisitor without the bishop, or his vicar, can put any one to the torture. But if the bishop or his vicar, upon summons sent them, either refuses or neglects to be present within eight days, the inquisitor may proceed alone to the torture; or if one be not within reach of the other, if he be absent a great way off, then the other may proceed by himself. But what place may be said to be a great way off, is left at the pleasure of the judge to determine. However, the bishop and inquisitor may depute each other, or signify their consent by letters, which must be done within eight days after they are summoned. In the inquisition at Cremona, the advocate of the exchequer is present at the torture, and the inquisitor there sits in the middle, between the vicar-general on his right hand, and the advocate on his left.

As to the persons who may be tortured, although in all other causes and crimes some persons are excepted, such as doctors, soldiers, officers, noblemen, and their sons; yet in this most grievous and horrible crime of heresy, there is no privilege to defend any one, but all may be put to the torture, even clergymen, monks, and other religious. But to prevent excommunication, by grievously torturing or hurting them, and on account of the dignity with which they are invested, they torture them more gently and mildly, unless the heinousness of the crime and the strength of the evidence requires otherwise. As to such who are freed from being tortured for other crimes, upon account of their youth, or old age, or being with-child, they are not to be tortured for heresy. Persons under twenty-five may be tortured for suspicion of heresy, but not if they are under fourteen; but they may be terrified and beat. Neither is there any exception of place, although by ancient custom, or municipal laws,

laws, the torture is not otherwise to be inflicted there. Thus in the kingdom of Arragon, no judge can order any criminal to the torture; but yet in favour of the faith, any persons, even though privileged, may be tortured for suspicions of heresy.

After the sentence of torture is pronounced, the officers prepare themselves to inflict it. The place of torture, in the Spanish inquisition, is generally an under-ground and very dark room, to which one enters through several doors. There is a tribunal erected in it, in which the inquisitor, inspector and secretary sit. When the candles are lighted, and the person to be tortured brought in, the executioner who is waiting, makes an astonishing and dreadful appearance. He is covered all over with a black linen garment down to his feet, and tied close to his body. His head and face are all hid with a long black cowl, only two little holes being left in it for him to see through. All this is intended to strike the miserable wretch with greater terror in mind and body, when he sees himself going to be tortured by the hands of one who thus looks like the very devil.

Whilst the officers are getting things ready for the torture, the bishop and inquisitor by themselves, and other good men zealous for the faith, endeavour to persuade the person to be tortured, freely to confess the truth; and if he will not, they order the officers to strip him, who do it in an instant. Clergymen however must not be tortured by a lay officer or torturer, unless they cannot find any clergymen who know how to do it, or are willing; because it would be in vain for the judges to order any clergyman or monk to the torture, if there was no body to inflict it; and therefore in such a case, it is usual to torture them by lay officers.

Whilst the person to be tortured is stripping, they endeavour to persuade him to confess the truth.

If he refuses it, he is taken aside by certain good men, and persuaded to confess, and told by them, that if he confesses, he will not be put to death, but only be made to swear that he will not return to the heresy he hath abjured. The inquisitor and bishop promise the same, unless the person be a relapse.

If he is neither persuaded by threatnings or promises to confess his crime, he is tortured either more lightly or grievously, according as his crime requires, and frequently interrogated during the torture, upon those articles for which he is put to it, beginning with the lesser ones, because they think he will sooner confess the lesser matters than the greater.

The criminals are with great care and diligence to be admonished by the inquisitors, and especially when they are under torture, that they should not by any means bear false witness against themselves or others, through fear of punishments or torments, but speak the truth only. Nor may the inquisitors promise pardon or forgiveness of the offence, to compel the criminals to confess crimes which they have not committed, out of their great zeal to enquire out the truth. And such a false confession the accused person may safely revoke.

The inquisitors themselves must interrogate the criminals during their torture, nor can they commit this business to others, unless they are engaged in other important affairs, in which case they may depute certain good and skilful men for the purpose. Although in other nations criminals are publicly tortured, yet in Spain it is forbidden by the royal law, for any to be present whilst they are torturing, besides the judges, secretaries, and torturers. The inquisitors must also chuse proper torturers, born of ancient christians, who must be bound by oath, by no means to discover their secrets, nor to blab out any thing that is said. The judges also usually protest,

protest, that if the criminal should happen to die under his torture, or by reason of it, or should suffer the loss of any of his limbs, it is not to be imputed to them, but to the criminal himself, who will not plainly confess the truth before he is tortured. An heretic may not only be interrogated concerning himself, but in general also concerning his companions and accomplices in his crimes, his teachers and his deciples; for he ought to discover them, though he be not interrogated; but when he is interrogated concerning them, he is much more obliged to discover them than his accomplices in any other the most grievous crimes. A person also suspected of heresy, and fully convicted, may be tortured upon another account, *i. e.* to discover his companions and accomplices in the crime. This must be done when he boggles, or it is half fully proved at least that he was actually present with them, or hath such companions and accomplices in his crime; for in this case he is not tortured as a criminal, but as a witness. But he who makes full confession of himself, is not tortured upon a different account; whereas if he be a negative, he may be tortured upon another account, to discover his accomplices and other heretics, though he be fully convicted himself, and it be half fully proved that he hath such accomplices. The reason of the difference in these cases is this, because he who confesses against himself, would certainly much rather confess against other heretics, if he knew them. But it is otherwise when the criminal is a negative.

Whilst these things are doing, the notary writes every thing down in the process, as what tortures were inflicted, concerning what matters the criminal was interrogated, and what he answered. If by these tortures they cannot draw from him a confession, they shew him other kind of tortures, and tell him he must undergo all of them, unless he confesses

esses the truth. If neither by this means they can extort the truth, they may, to terrify him and engage him to confess, assign the second or third day to continue, not to repeat the torture, till he hath undergone all those kinds of them to which he is condemned.

The degrees of torture formerly used were five, which were inflicted in their turn, and are described by *Julius Clarus*: "Know therefore" says he, "that there are five degrees of torture, *viz.* first, the being threatned to be tortured. Secondly, being carried to the place of torture. Thirdly, by stripping and binding. Fourthly, the being hoisted up on the rack. Fifthly squassation."

This stripping is performed without any regard to humanity or honor, not only to men, but to women and virgins, though the most virtuous and chaste, of whom they have sometimes many in their prisons. For they cause them to be stripped even to their very shifts, which they afterwards take off, and then put on them strait linen drawers, and then make their arms naked quite up to their shoulders. As to squassation, it is thus performed: the prisoner hath his hands bound behind his back, and weights tied to his feet, and then he is drawn up on high, till his head reaches the very pulley. He is kept hanging in this manner for some time, that by the greatness of the weight hanging at his feet, all his joints and limbs may be dreadfully stretched, and on a sudden he is let down with a jirk, by slacking the rope, but kept from coming quite to the ground, by which terrible shake, his arms and legs are all disjointed, whereby he is put to the most exquisite pain; the shock which he receives by the sudden stop of his fall, and the weight at his feet, stretching his whole body more intensely and cruelly.

In

In the next paragraph he gives a more distinct explication of this matter, and reckons up three degrees of torture. The first is to terrify, which comprehends not only threatnings to torture, but the being carried to the place of torments, they being stripped and bound; unless such binding should happen to be too severe and hard, and performed with a twist, as is the custom of most judges. Thus it was practised upon a certain physician of Oleso, who suffered more by being bound, than others in the very torture. And therefore such binding may be equalled to the torture itself. The second degree is, to put to the torture, or to interrogate by torture. This is done by hoisting a person up, and keeping him hanging for a considerable time. The third is to torture by squassation, which is performed amongst us by one jirk of the rope. But if the senate commands that the person be well or severely thus tortured, they give two jirks of the rope. *Antonius Drogus*, in his annotations to this place, says, that you may have the perfect modern practice, observe, that when the senate orders, let him be interrogated by torture, the person is lifted or hoisted up, but not put to the squassation. If the senate orders, let him be tortured, he must then undergo the squassation once, being first interrogated as he is hanging upon the rope and engine. If it orders, let him be well tortured, it is understood that he must suffer two squassations. If it orders, let him be severely tortured, it is understood of three squassations, at three different times within an hour. If it says, very severely, it is understood that it must be done with twisting, and weights at the feet. In this case the senate generally expresses the twisting, or any other particular manner which they intend, and the judge may proceed to every severity not

E

reaching

reaching to death. But when it says, very severely even unto death, then the criminal's life is in immediate danger.

The like method of torture was formerly practised in the inquisition at Tholouse, as appears from several places in the book of sentences. Thus fol. 67, at the end of the sentence of *Wm. Sicred jun.* we read, nor would he judicially confess concerning the aforesaid, till he was put in prison, and hoisted up a little upon the roap. And in fol. 131, we read, that *William Cavallerii*, after a considerable time, revoked what he had before confessed, saying, that he confessed nothing concerning heresy, but what was forced from him by the violence of torment. And finally, fol. 132, in the sentence of friar *Bernard Deliciosi*, of the order of minors, amongst other things, this was imputed to him as a crime, that he justified those who were apprehended for heresy, and condemned for it, and ordered to perpetual imprisonment and other punishments, and that though they were true catholics, they had confessed heresy of themselves and others, only through the violence of their torments, and were unjustly condemned.

The method of torturing, and the degrees of tortures now used in the Spanish inquisition, will be well understood from the history of *Isaac Orobio*, a jew, and doctor of physick, who was accused to the inquisition as a jew, by a certain moor his servant, who had by his order before this, been whipped for thieving; and four years after this he was again accused by a certain enemy of his for another fact, which would have proved him a jew. But *Orobio* obstinately denied that he was one. I will here give the account of his torture, as I had it from his own mouth. After three whole years which he had been in prison, and several examinations, and the discovery of the crimes to him of which he was accused,

in

in order to his confession, and his constant denial of them, he was at length carried out of his prison, and through several turnings brought to the place of torture. This was towards the evening. It was a large under-ground room, arched, and the walls covered with black hangings. The candlesticks were fastened to the wall, and the whole room enlightened with candles placed in them. At one end of it there was an inclosed place like a closet, where the inquisitor and notary sat at a table; so that the place seemed to him as the very mansion of death, every thing appearing so terrible and awful. Here the inquisitor again admonished him to confess the truth, before his torments began. When he answered he had told the truth, the inquisitor protested, that since he was so obstinate as to suffer the torture, the holy office would be innocent if he should shed his blood, or even expire in his torments. When he had said this, they put a linen garment over his body, and drew it so very close on each side, as almost squeezed him to death. When he was almost dying, they slacken'd at once the sides of the garment, and after he began to breathe again, the sudden alteration put him to the most grievous anguish and pain. When he had overcome this torture, the same admonition was repeated, that he would confess the truth, in order to prevent farther torment. And as he persisted in his denial, they tied his thumbs so very tight with small cords, as made the extremities of them greatly swell, and caused the blood to spirt out from under his nails. After this he was placed with his back against a wall, and fixed upon a little bench. Into the wall were fastened littled iron pullies, through which there were ropes drawn and tied round his body in several places, and especially his arms and legs. The executioner drawing these ropes with great violence, fastened his body with them to the wall, so that his hands and feet, and es-

pecially his fingers and toes, being bound so straightly with them, put him to the most exquisite pain, and seemed to him just as though he had been dissolving in flames. In the midst of these torments, the torturer of a sudden, drew the bench from under him, so that the miserable wretch hung by the cords without any thing to support him, and by the weight of his body drew the knots yet much closer. After this a new kind of torture succeeded. There was an instrument like a small ladder, made of two upright pieces of wood, and five cross ones sharpened before. This the torturer placed over against him, and by a certain proper motion, struck it with great violence against both his shins, so that he received upon each of them at once five violent strokes, which put him to such intolerable anguish that he fainted away. After he came to himself, they inflicted on him the last torture. The torturer tied ropes about *Orobio's* wrists, and then put those ropes about his own back, which was covered with leather, to prevent his hurting himself; then falling backwards, and putting his feet up against the wall, he drew them with all his might, till they cut through *Orobio's* flesh even to the very bones; and this torture was repeated thrice, the ropes being tied about his arms about the distance of two fingers breadth from the former wound, and drawn with the same violence. But it happened, that as the ropes were drawing the second time, they slid into the first wound, which caused so great an effusion of blood, that he seemed to be dying. Upon this, the physician and surgeon, who are always ready, were sent for out of a neighbouring apartment, to ask their advice, whether the torture could be continued without danger of death, lest the ecclesiastical judges should be guilty of an irregularity if the criminal should die in his torments. They, who were far from being enemies to *Orobio*, answered, that he had strength enough to endure

endure the rest of the torture, and hereby preserved him from having the tortures he had already endured repeated on him, because his sentence was, that he should suffer them all at one time, one after another. So that if at any time they are forced to leave off through fear of death, all the tortures, even those already suffered, must be successively inflicted to satisfy the sentence. Upon this, the torture was repeated the third time, and then it ended. After this he was bound up in his own clothes, and carried back to his prison, and was scarce healed of his wounds in seventy days. And inasmuch as he made no confession under his torture, he was condemned, not as one convicted, but suspected of judaism, to wear for two whole years the infamous habit called *sambenito*, and after that term, to perpetual banishment from the kingdom of Seville.

Ernestus Eremundus Frisius, in his history of the low-country disturbances, gives us an account from *Gonsalvius*, of another kind of torture. There is a wooden bench, which they call the wooden horse, made hollow like a trough, so as to contain a man lying on his back at full length, about the middle of which there is a round bar laid across, upon which the back of the person is placed, so that he lies upon the bar instead of being let into the bottom of the trough, with his feet much higher than his head. As he is lying in this posture, his arms, thighs, and shins, are tied round with small cords or strings, which being drawn with screws at proper distances from each other, cut into the very bones, so as to be no longer discerned.* Besides this, the torturer throws over his mouth and nostrils a thin cloth, so that he is scarce able to breathe through them, and in the mean while, a small stream of water like a thread, not drop by drop, falls from on high, upon

E 3

the

* These two methods of punishment seem to be taken from the two different forms of the ancient *Eculeus*.

the mouth of the person lying in this miserable condition, and so easily sinks down the thin cloth to the bottom of his throat, so that there is no possibility of breathing, his mouth being stopped with water, and his nostrils with the cloth, so that the poor wretch is in the same agony as persons ready to die, and breathing out their last. When this cloth is drawn out of his throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the questions, it is all wet with water and blood, and is like pulling his bowels through his mouth. There is also another kind of torture peculiar to this tribunal, which they call *the fire*. They order a large iron chafing-dish full of lighted charcoal, to be brought in, and held close to the soles of the tortured person's feet, greased over with lard, so that the heat of the fire may more quickly pierce through them.

This is inquisition by torture, when there is only half full proof of their crime. However, at other times, torments are sometimes inflicted upon persons condemned to death, as a punishment preceding that of death. Of this we have a remarkable instance in *William Lithgow*, an Englishman, who, as he tells us, in his travels, was taken up as a spy in Mallagom, a city of Spain, and was exposed to the most cruel torments upon the wooden horse. But when nothing could be extorted from him, he was delivered to the inquisition as an heretic, because his journal abounded with blasphemies against the pope and the virgin *Mary*. When he confessed himself a protestant before the inquisitor, he was admonished to convert himself to the roman church, and was allowed eight days to deliberate on it. In the mean while the inquisitor and jesuits came to him often, sometimes wheedling him, sometimes threatening and reproaching him, and sometimes arguing with him. At length they endeavoured to overcome his constancy by kind assurances and promises; but all in vain; and therefore, as he was immoveably fixed, he was condemned

condemned in the beginning of Lent, to suffer the night following, eleven most cruel torments, and after Easter, to be carried privately to Grenada, there to be burnt at midnight, and his ashes to be scattered into the air. When night came on, his fetters were taken off; then he was stripped naked, put upon his knees, and his hands lift up by force; after which, opening his mouth with iron instruments, they filled his belly with water till it came out of his jaws. Then they tied a rope hard about his neck, and in this condition rolled him seven times the whole length of the room, till he was almost strangled. After this they tied a small cord about both his great toes, and hung him up thereby with his head towards the ground, and then cut the rope about his neck, letting him remain in this condition till all the water discharged itself out of his mouth; so that he was laid on the ground as just dead, and had his irons put on him again. But beyond all expectation, he was delivered out of prison, escaped death, and fortunately sailed home to England.

If when the person is decently tortured, he confesses nothing, he is allowed to go away free; and if he demands of his judges, that he be cleared by sentence, they cannot deny it him; and they pronounce, that having diligently examined the merits of the process, they find nothing of the crime of which he was accused, legally proved against him. There is extant in this case, a decree in the Madrid instruction, Ann. 1561. chap. 54. "If the criminal overcomes the torture, the inquisitor must then weigh and consider the nature of the proofs, and the degree and form, or manner of the torture; and the disposition, or nature and age of the tortured criminal. All which things considered, if it appears that he hath sufficiently purged himself

" of

“ of all marks, let them absolve him from any farther process. But if there be any reason and cause upon considering the aforesaid circumstances, to think that the torture was not inflicted with due rigour, then let them inflict on him either a light or vehement abjuration, or some pecuniary penalty. Although this ought not to be done without great consideration, and unless the proofs are not thought sufficiently purged off.”

But if, when under the question, he confesses, it is written in the process; after which he is carried to another place, where he hath no view of the tortures, and there his confession made during his torments is read over to him, and he is interrogated several times till the confession be made. But here *Gonsalvus* observes, that when the prisoner is carried to audience, they make him pass by the door of the room where the torture is inflicted, where the executioner shews himself, on purpose to be seen, in that shape of a devil I have described before, that as he passes by, he may, by seeing him, be forced to feel, as it were, over again his past torments. The space of time allowed between the torture and the ratification of the confession, is determined by the Madrid instruction, Ann. 1561. chap. 53. “ Twenty-four hours after the torture, the criminal must ratify his confession, and if he retracts it, the remedies provided by law must be made use of. And at the time when the torture is inflicted, the notary must write down the hour, as also the time of the ratification, lest if such ratification should be made the next day, a doubt may arise, whether it was after or before the twenty-four hours. If the criminal ratifies his confession made under torture, and the inquisitors are satisfied of his good confession and conversion, they may admit him to reconciliation, although his confession was made under torture. they must, however, prudently take care how they receive

“ receive such persons, and consider the nature of
“ the heresies they have confessed, and whether they
“ have learnt them from others, or have taught them
“ themselves to others, upon account of the danger
“ that may ensue hereby.

*The following Pages are taken from Gavin's
Master Key to Popery, who speaking of his own
Knowledge, certainly deserves Credit.*

IN 1706, after the battle of Almanza, the Spanish army being divided in two bodies, one of them thro' the kingdom of Valencia to the frontiers of Catalonia, commanded by the duke of Berwick, and the other, composed of the French auxiliary troops, fourteen thousand in number, went to the conquest of Aragon, whose inhabitants had declared themselves for king *Charles III.* The body of French troops was commanded by his highness the duke of Orleans, who was generalissimo of the whole army. Before he came to the city, the magistrates went to meet him, and offered the keys of the city, but he refused them, saying, he was to enter it through a breach; and so he did, treating the people as rebels to their lawful king; and when he had ordered all the civil and military affairs of the city, he went down to the frontiers of Catalonia, leaving his lieutenant general, *Monsieur de Jofreville*, governor of
the

the town. But this governor being a mild-tempered man, he was loth to follow the orders left with him, as to the contribution money; so he was called to the army, and the lieutenant general, *Monsieur de Legal*, came in his place. The city was to pay a thousand crowns a month, for the duke's table, and every house a pistole, which by computation made up the sum of eighteen thousand pistoles a month, which were paid eight months together; besides this, the convents were to pay a donative proportionable to their rents; the college of jesuits were charged two thousand pistoles, the Dominicans one thousand, Augustins one thousand, Carmelites one thousand, &c. *Monsieur de Legal* sent first to the jesuits, who refused to pay, saying, that it was against the ecclesiastical immunity; but *Legal*, not acquainted with those sort of excuses, sent four companies of grenadiers to be quartered in their college at discretion. The fathers sent immediately an express to the king's confessor, who was a jesuit, with complaints about the case; but the grenadiers made more expedition in their plundering and mischiefs than the courier did in his journey; so the fathers seeing the damage all their goods had already sustained, and fearing some violence upon their treasure, went and paid *Monsieur de Legal* the two thousand pistoles as a donative.

Next he sent to the Dominicans. The friars of this order are all familiars of the holy office, and depending upon it, they excused themselves in a civil manner, saying they had no money, and if *Monsieur de Legal* had a mind to insist upon the demand of the one thousand pistoles, they could not pay him without sending to him the silver bodies of the saints. The friars thought by that to frighten *Monsieur de Legal*, and if he was so resolute as to accept the offer, to send the saints in a procession, and raise the people by crying out "heresy, heresy." *De Legal* answered

swered the friars, that he was obliged to obey the duke's orders, and so he would receive the silver saints: so the friars, all in a solemn procession, with lighted candles in their hands, carried the saints to the governor *Legal*; who, as soon as he heard of this public resolution of the friars, ordered immediately four companies of grenadiers to line the streets on both sides, before his house, and to keep their fuses in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, to receive the saints with the same devotion. And though the friars endeavoured to raise the people, no body was so bold as to expose themselves to the army. *Legal* received the saints, and sent them to the mint, promising the father prior to give him what remained above the thousand pistoles. The friars being disappointed in their project of raising the people, went to the inquisitors to desire them to release their saints out of the mint, by excommunicating *Monsieur de Legal*, which the inquisitors did upon the spot; and the excommunication being drawn and signed, they gave strict orders to their secretary to go read it before *Monsieur de Legal*, which he did accordingly; and the governor, far from flying in a passion, with a mild countenance, took the paper from the secretary, and said, pray tell your masters the inquisitors, that I will answer them tomorrow morning. The secretary went away fully satisfied with *Legal*'s civil behaviour; who the same minute, without reflecting upon any consequence, called his own secretary, and bid him to draw a copy of the excommunication, putting out the name of *Legal*, and inserting in its place, *the Holy Inquisitors*.

The next morning he gave orders for four regiments to be ready, and sent them along with his secretary to the inquisition, with command to read the excommunication to the inquisitors themselves, and if they made the least noise, to turn them out, open
all

all the prisons, and quarter two regiments there. So his secretary went, and performed the governor's orders. The inquisitors were never more surprised than to see themselves excommunicated by a man that had no authority for it; and began to cry out "War against the heretic *Legal*; this is a public insult against our catholic faith." To which the secretary answered, "holy inquisitors, the king wants this house to quarter his troops in, so walk out immediately," and as they continued in their exclamations, he took the inquisitors with a strong guard, and carried them to a private house designed for that purpose; but when they saw the laws of military discipline, they begged leave to take their goods along with them, which was immediately granted, and the next day they set out for Madrid to complain to the king; who gave them a slight answer, saying, I am very sorry for it, but I cannot help it; my crown is in danger, and my grandfather defends it, and this is done by his troops; if it had been done by my troops, I should have applied a speedy remedy; but you must have patience till things take another turn. So the inquisitors were obliged to have patience for eight months.

The secretary of *Monsieur de Legal*, according to his orders, opened the doors of all the prisons, and then the wickednesses of the inquisitors were detected: four hundred prisoners got liberty that day; and among them sixty young women were found very well dressed, who were in all human appearance, the number of the three inquisitors seraglio, as some of them did own afterwards. But this discovery, so dangerous to the holy tribunal, was in some measure prevented by the archbishop, who went to desire *Monsieur de Legal* to send those women to his palace, and that his grace would take care of them. And in the mean time he ordered an ecclesiastical censure to be published against those
that

that should defame by groundless reports the holy office of the inquisition. The governor answered, he would be willing to assist his grace in any thing he could; but as to the young women, it was not in his power, the officers having hurried them away; as indeed it was not, for the French officers were all glad to get such fine mistresses.

As I travelled in France some time after, I met with one of those women at Rochfort, in the same inn I went to lodge in, who had been brought there by the son of the master of the inn, formerly a lieutenant in the French service in Spain, who had married her for her extraordinary merit and beauty. She was the daughter of counsellor *Bulabriga*: I had known her before she was taken up by the inquisitors orders; her father died of grief, without the comfort of revealing the cause of his trouble, even to his confessor: so great is the dread of the inquisitors there!

I was very glad to meet one of my country-women in my travels; and as she did not remember me, especially in my disguise, she took me for an officer. I resolved to stay there the next day, to have the satisfaction of conversing with her, and to get a plain account of what we could not know in Zaragosa, for fear of incurring the ecclesiastical censure, published by the bishop. Her father and mother-in-law, to shew their respect for their daughter's country-man, (Mr. *Faulcaut* her spouse being gone to Paris) invited me to a handsome supper; after which I begged the favour of her to tell me the reason of her imprisonment; of her sufferings in the inquisition, and of every thing she knew relating to the holy office; to which she readily consented, and gave me the following account:

I went one day with my mother to visit the countess of Attarafs, and I met there *Don Francisco Torroja*, her confessor, and second inquisitor of the

holy office. After we had drank chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor's name, and so many intricate questions about religion, that I could not answer him. His serious countenance did frighten me, and as he perceived my fear, he desired the coun-
tess to tell me, that he was not so severe as I took him to be; after which he caressed me in a most obliging manner; he gave me his hand, which I kissed with great respect and modesty; and when going away, he told me, "My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time." I did not mind the sense of the words, for I was unexperienced in matters of gallantry, being at that time but fifteen years old. Indeed he did remember me; for the very same night, when we were in bed, hearing a hard knocking at the door, the maid that lay in the same room with me, went to the window and asking who was there, I heard say—the holy inquisition. I could not forbear crying out, father, father, I am ruined for ever. My dear father got up, and inquiring what the matter was, I answered him with tears, the inquisition; he, for fear that the maid should not open the door as quick as such a case required, went himself like another *Abraham* to open the door, and to offer his dear daughter to the fire of the inquisitors; and as I did not cease to cry out, as if I was a mad girl, my dear father all in tears, did put in my mouth a bit of a bridle, to shew his obedience to the holy office, for he thought I had committed some crime against religion; so the officers giving me only time to put on my petticoat and a mantle, took me down into the coach, and without allowing me the satisfaction of embracing my dear father and mother, they carried me into the inquisition.

I did expect to die that night; but when they carried me into a noble room, well furnished, I was quite surpris'd. The officers left me there, and immediately

mediately a maid came in, with a salver of sweet-meats, and cinnamon water, desiring me to take some refreshment before I went to bed. I told her I could not; but that I should be obliged to her, if she could tell me whether I was to die that night or not? "Die!" said she "you do not come here to die, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out; so pray be not afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy, for to-morrow you shall see wonders in this house; and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you will be very kind to me." I was going to ask some questions, but she told me, she had not leave to tell me any thing more till the next day, only that no body should come to disturb me; "and now" said she "I am going about some business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet near yours," so she left me for a quarter of an hour. The great amazement I was in took away the free exercise of my senses to such a degree, that I had not power to think either of my afflicted parents, or the danger I was in. In this suspension of thought, the maid returned, and locked the chamber door after her; "Madam" said she "let us go to bed, and be pleased to tell me at what time in the morning you will have the chocolate ready." I asked her name, and she told me it was *Mary*. *Mary*, for God's sake (said I) tell me, whether I come to die or not? "I have told you madam" replied she "that you are come to be one of the happiest ladies in the world;" so observing her reservedness, I asked no more questions that night, but went to bed. The fear of death prevented me from shutting my eyes, so that I rose at break of day; *Mary* lay till six o'clock, and was surpris'd to find me up; however she said little, but in half an hour she brought me, on a silver plate, two cups of chocolate and biscuits; I drank one cup,

and desired her to drink the other, which she did. Well, *Mary*, said I, can you give me any account of the reasons of my being here? "Not yet, madam" said she, "have a little patience." With this answer she left me, and an hour after came again with a fine Holland shift, a Holland under-petticoat, finely laced round; two silk petticoats, and a little Spanish waistcoat, fringed all over with gold, and combs, ribbands, and every thing suitable to a lady of higher quality than I; but my greatest surprise was to see a gold snuff box, with the picture of *Don Francisco Torrejon* in it. Then I soon understood the meaning of my confinement; so I considered with myself, that to refuse the present would be the occasion of my immediate death; and to accept it, was to give him too great encouragement against my honor. But I found, as I thought, a medium in the case; so I said to *Mary*, pray give my service to *Don Francisco Torrejon*, and tell him, that as I could not bring my clothes along with me last night, honesty permits me to accept of those clothes which are necessary to keep me decent; but since I take no snuff, I beg his lordship to excuse me if I do not accept this box. *Mary* went to him with this answer, and came again with a picture, nicely set in gold, with four diamonds at the four corners of it, and told me, that his lordship had mistook, and that he desired me to accept that picture. While I was musing what to do, *Mary* said, "pray madam take my poor advice, accept the picture. "and every thing he sends you; for consider, that "if you do not comply with every thing he has a "mind for, you will soon be put to death, and no "body can defend you; but if you are obliging to "him, he is a very complaisant gentleman, and will "be a charming lover, and you will be here like a "queen: he will give you another apartment with "fine gardens, and many young ladies shall come to. "visit

"visit you; so I advise you to send a civil answer, and desire a visit from him, or else you will soon repent it." O dear God! cried I, must I abandon my honor without remedy; if I oppose his desire, he will by force obtain it. So, full of confusion, I bid *Mary* to give him what answer she thought fit: she was very glad of my humble submission, and went to give *Don Francisco* an account of it. In a few minutes she returned with great joy, to tell me that his lordship would honor me with his company at supper; in the mean time he desired me to mind nothing, but how to divert myself, and to give *Mary* my measure for some new clothes, and order her to bring me every thing I could wish for. *Mary* added to this, "madam, I may now call you my mistress, and must tell you, that I have been in the holy office these fourteen years, and know the customs of it very well; but as silence is imposed upon me under pain of death, I cannot tell you any thing but what concerns your person: so in the first place, do not oppose the holy father's will; secondly, if you see some young ladies here, never ask them any questions; neither will they ask you; and take care that you never tell them any thing. You may come and divert yourself among them at such hours as are appointed; you shall have music, and all sorts of recreations; three days hence you shall dine with them; they are all ladies of quality, young and merry. You will live so happy here, that you will not wish to go abroad; and when your time is expired, then the holy fathers will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman. Never mention your name, nor *Don Francisco's* to any; if you see here some young ladies you have formerly been acquainted with, no notice must be taken, nor nothing talked of but indifferent matters."

All this made me astonished, or rather stupified, and the whole seemed to me a piece of enchantment. With this lesson she left me, saying, she was going to order my dinner. Every time she went out she locked the door. There were but two windows in my room, and they were so high that I could see nothing through them; but hunting about, I found a closet, with all sorts of historical and profane books; so I spent my time till dinner in reading, which was some satisfaction to me.

In about two hours time she brought in dinner, at which was every thing that could satisfy the nicest appetite. When dinner was over, she left me alone, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring the bell, and call. So I went to the closet again, and spent three hours in reading. I think really I was under some enchantment; for I was in a perfect suspension of thought, so as to remember neither father or mother. *Mary* came and told me, that *Don Francisco* was come home, and that she thought he would come to see me very soon, and begged of me to prepare myself to receive him with all manner of kindness.

At seven in the evening *Don Francisco* came, in his night-gown and cap; not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of an officer. He saluted me with great respect, and told me at the same time, that his coming to see me, was only to shew the value he had for my family, and to tell me, that some of my lovers had procured my ruin for ever, having accused me in matters of religion; that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me—to be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire,—but that he, out of pity, and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it. Each of these words was a mortal stroke to my heart. I threw myself at his feet, and said, Ah! *Seignior*, have you stopped the execution for ever? "That
"only

"only belongs to you to stop it or not," said he, and with this he wished me a good night. As soon as he went away, I fell a crying, but *Mary* came and asked me what could oblige me to cry so bitterly. Ah! good *Mary*, said I, pray tell me what is the meaning of the *dry pan and gradual fire*? for I expect to die by it. "O madam" replied she "never fear; you shall see e'er long the dry pan and gradual fire; but they are made for those that oppose the holy father's will; not for you that are so good to obey it. But pray, was *Don Francisco* very obliging?" I do not know, said I, for his discourse has put me out of my wits; he saluted me with great civility, but he left me abruptly.—"Well" said *Mary*, "you do not yet know his temper, he is extremely kind to people that are obedient to him, but if they are not, he is as unmerciful as *Nero*; so for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects; and now, dear madam, pray go to supper, and be easy." But the thoughts of the dry pan troubled me so much, that I could neither eat, nor sleep that night.

Early in the morning *Mary* got up, and told me, that nobody was yet stirring in the house, and that if I would promise secrecy, she would shew me the dry pan and gradual fire; so taking me down stairs, she brought me into a large room with a thick iron door, and within it was an oven burning at that time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it. In the next room, there was a great wheel covered on both sides, with thick boards; and opening a little window in the centre of it, she desired me to look with a candle on the inside of it. There I saw all the circumference of the wheel was set with sharp razors. After that, she shewed me a pit full of serpents and toads. She said, "now my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these three things. The dry pan is for heretics and

“ and those that oppose the holy father’s will and
“ pleasure. They are put naked alive into the pan,
“ and the cover of it being locked up, the execu-
“ tioner begins to put a small fire in the oven, and by
“ degrees he augmenteth it, till the body is reduced
“ to ashes. The second is designed for those that
“ speak against the pope, and the holy fathers; for
“ they are put within the wheel, and the little door
“ being locked, the executioner turns the wheel till
“ the person is dead. And the third is for those
“ who contemn the images, and refuse to give due
“ respect and veneration to ecclesiastical persons :
“ for they are thrown into the pit, and so become
“ the food of serpents and toads.” Then *Mary* said
to me, that another day she would shew me the tor-
ments for public sinners; but I was in so great an
agony at what I had seen, that I desired her to shew
me no more places; so we went to my room, and
she again charged me to be very obedient to all the
commands *Don Francisco* should give me, or I might
be assured, if I was not, that I must undergo the
torments of the dry pan. I conceived such an hor-
ror of the gradual fire, that I was not mistress of
my senses; so I promised *Mary* to follow her ad-
vice. “ If you are in that disposition” said she,
“ leave off all fear, and expect nothing but pleasure
“ and satisfaction. Now let me dress you, for you
“ must go to wish a good morrow to *Don Francisco*,
“ and to breakfast with him.” Having said this,
she conveyed me through a gallery into his apart-
ment; he was still in bed, and desired me to sit
down by him, and ordered *Mary* to bring the cho-
colate two hours after. When she was withdrawn,
he immediately declared his inclination in so ardent
a manner, that I had neither strength or power to
oppose him; and so by extinguishing the fire of his
passion, I was freed from the dry pan. When *Mary*
came with the chocolate, I was very much ashamed

to be seen in bed with him; but she coming to the bed-side where I was, and kneeling down, paid me homage as if I had been a queen, and served me first with a cup of chocolate, desiring me to give another cup to *Don Francisco*, which he received very graciously. After breakfast she went away; we discoursed for some time of various things; but I never spoke a word, but when he desired me to answer him; so at ten o'clock *Mary* came again and dressed me.

We left *Don Francisco* in bed, and she carried me into another chamber, very delightful and better furnished than the first; for the windows were lower, and I had the pleasure of seeing the river and gardens. *Mary* then told me, that the young ladies would come to pay me their compliments before dinner; and would take me to dine with them; and begged me to remember her advice; she had scarce finished these words, before I saw a troop of young beautiful ladies, finely dressed, who all, one after another came to embrace me, and wish me joy. My surprise was so great, that I was unable to answer their compliments; but one of them seeing me so silent, said to me, "madam, the solitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleasures and amusements we enjoy, you will quit your pensive thoughts; now we beg of you the honor to come and dine with us to day; and henceforth three days in a week." I returned them thanks, and so we went to dinner. That day we had all sorts of exquisite meats, delicate fruits, and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and another at the front of it; and I reckoned in it that day fifty-two young ladies, the eldest of them not exceeding twenty four years of age. Six maids did serve the whole number of us; but *Mary* waited on me alone. After dinner we went up stairs into a long gallery; where

where some of us played on instruments of music, others at cards, and some walked about for three or four hours together. At last *Mary* came up ringing a small bell, which was, as they informed me, the signal to retire into our rooms; but *Mary* said to the whole company, "ladies, to day is a day of recreation, so you may go into what rooms you please till eight o'clock." They all desired to go to my apartment with me. We found in my anti-chamber a table, with all sorts of sweetmeats upon it; iced-cinnamon, almonds-milk, and the like. Every one did eat and drink, but nobody spoke a word touching the sumptuousness of the table, or concerning the inquisition, or the holy fathers. So we spent our time in merry indifferent conversation till eight o'clock, and then every one retired to their own room.

As soon as they were gone, *Mary* let me know that *Don Francisco* did wait for me; so we went to his apartment, and supper being ready, we sat down, attended only by *Mary*. After it was over, she went away, and we went to bed. Next morning she served us with chocolate, which after we had drank, we slept till ten; at which time we got up. When I returned to my own chamber, I found ready two suits of clothes of rich brocade, and every thing else suitable to a lady of the first rank. I put on one, and when I was quite dressed, the ladies came to wish me joy, all dressed in different clothes, much richer than before. We spent the second day and the third day in the same recreation; *Don Francisco* continuing in the same manner with me; but on the fourth morning, after drinking chocolate, *Mary* told me, that a lady was waiting for me in her own room, and with an air of authority desired me to get up. *Don Francisco* saying nothing to the contrary, I obeyed, and left him in bed. I thought this was to give me some new comfort, but I was
very

very much mistaken ; for *Mary* conveyed me into a lady's room not eight feet long, which was a perfect prison ; and told me this was my room, and this young lady my bed-fellow and companion ; and without saying any more, she left me there.

What is this dear lady ? said I ; is it an enchanted place, or a hell upon earth ? I have lost father and mother, and what is worse, I have lost my honor, and my soul for ever. My new companion seeing me like a mad woman, took me by the hands and said, " dear sister, for this is the name I will henceforth give you, forbear to cry and grieve ; for you can do nothing by such extravagant behaviour but draw upon yourself a cruel death ; your misfortunes and ours are exactly of a piece ; you suffer nothing that we have not suffered before you ; but we dare not shew our grief for fear of greater evils : pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us out of this hellish place ; but be sure you shew no uneasiness before *Mary*, who is the only instrument either of our torments or comforts : have patience till we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter, which I hope will afford you some comfort." I was in a most desperate condition ; but my new sister *Leonora* prevailed so much upon me, that I overcame my vexation before *Mary* came again to bring our dinner, which was very different from what we had for three days before. After dinner another maid came to take away the plate and knife, for we had but one for us both. After she had gone out and locked up the door, " now, my dear sister" said *Leonora* " we shall not be disturbed again till eight at night ; so if you will promise me upon your hopes of salvation, to keep secret, while you are in this house, all the things I shall tell you, I will reveal all that I know." I threw myself at her feet, and promised all that she desired ; upon which, without further ceremony, she began as follows :

" My

“ My dear sister, you think your case very hard ;
“ but I assure you, all the ladies in this house have
“ already gone through the same ; in time you shall
“ know all their stories, as they hope to know yours.
“ I suppose *Mary* has been the chief instrument of
“ your fright, as she has been of ours, and I warrant
“ she has shewn you some horrible places, though
“ not all, and that at the only thought of them you
“ were so much troubled in your mind, that you
“ have chosen the same way we did to redeem your-
“ self from death. By what has happened to us,
“ we know that *Don Francisco* has been your *Nero* ;
“ for the three colours of our clothes are the distin-
“ guishing tokens of the three holy fathers ; the red
“ silk belongs to *Don Francisco*, the blue to *Guerrero*,
“ and the green to *Aliaga* : for they always give the
“ three first of these colours to those ladies that they
“ bring hither for their use. We are strictly com-
“ manded to make all demonstrations of joy, and to
“ be very merry for three days when a young lady
“ comes first here, as we did with you, and you
“ must do with others ; but afterwards we live
“ like prisoners, without seeing any living soul but
“ the six maids, and *Mary*, who is the house-keeper.
“ We dine all of us in the hall three days in a week.
“ When any one of the holy fathers has a mind for
“ one of his slaves, *Mary* comes for her at nine of the
“ clock, and carries her to his apartment : but as
“ they have so many, the turn comes it may be but
“ once a month, except for those that happen to
“ please them more than ordinary, and they are sent
“ for often. Some nights *Mary* leaves the door of
“ our rooms open, and that is a sign that one of the
“ fathers has a mind to come that night ; but he
“ comes so silent, that we do not know whether he
“ is our patron or not. If one of us happen to be
“ with-child, she is removed into a better chamber,
“ and she sees nobody but the maid till she is de-
“ livered.

“delivered. The child is taken away, and we do
“not know where it is carried. I have been in this
“house six years, and was not fourteen when the
“officers took me from my father’s house: I have
“had one child here. We have at present fifty-two
“young ladies, and we lose every year six or eight;
“but we do not know where they are sent. We
“always get new in their places; and sometimes I
“have seen here seventy-three ladies at once. Our
“continual torment is to think, that when the holy
“fathers are tired of one, they put her to death;
“for they never will run the hazard of being dis-
“covered in their villany: so though we cannot
“oppose their commands, yet we continually pray
“to God to pardon those ills we are forced to com-
“mit, and to deliver us out of their hands; so my
“dear sister, arm yourself with patience, for there
“is no other remedy.”

This discourse of *Leonora* prevailed on me to appear outwardly easy before *Mary*. I found every thing as she told me. And in this manner we lived together eighteen months, in which time we lost eleven ladies, and we got nineteen new ones. I knew all their stories, which are too long to tell you to-night; but if you will stay here this week, you will not think your time lost. I promised to stay, with a great deal of pleasure, but begged her to finish her own story, which she did as follows:—

After eighteen months, one night *Mary* came in and ordered us to follow her down stairs, where we found a coach waiting, into which she forced us to go, and this we thought the last night of our lives; however, we were carried to another house, and put into a worse room than the former, where we were confined above two months without seeing the face of any body that we knew; and in the same manner we were removed from that house to another, where we continued till we were miraculously de-

livered by the French officers. Mr. *Faulcant*, happily for me, did open the door of my room, and from the moment he saw me, shewed me great civility. He took *Leonora* and me to his own lodgings, and after hearing our stories, for fear things should turn to our disadvantage, he dressed us in mens' clothes for the more safety, and sent us to his father's. So we came to this house, where I was kept for two years as the old man's daughter; till Mr. *Faulcant's* regiment being broke, he came home, and two months after married me. *Leonora* was married to another officer; they live in Orleans, which being in your way to Paris, I hope you will pay her a visit.

F I N I S.

